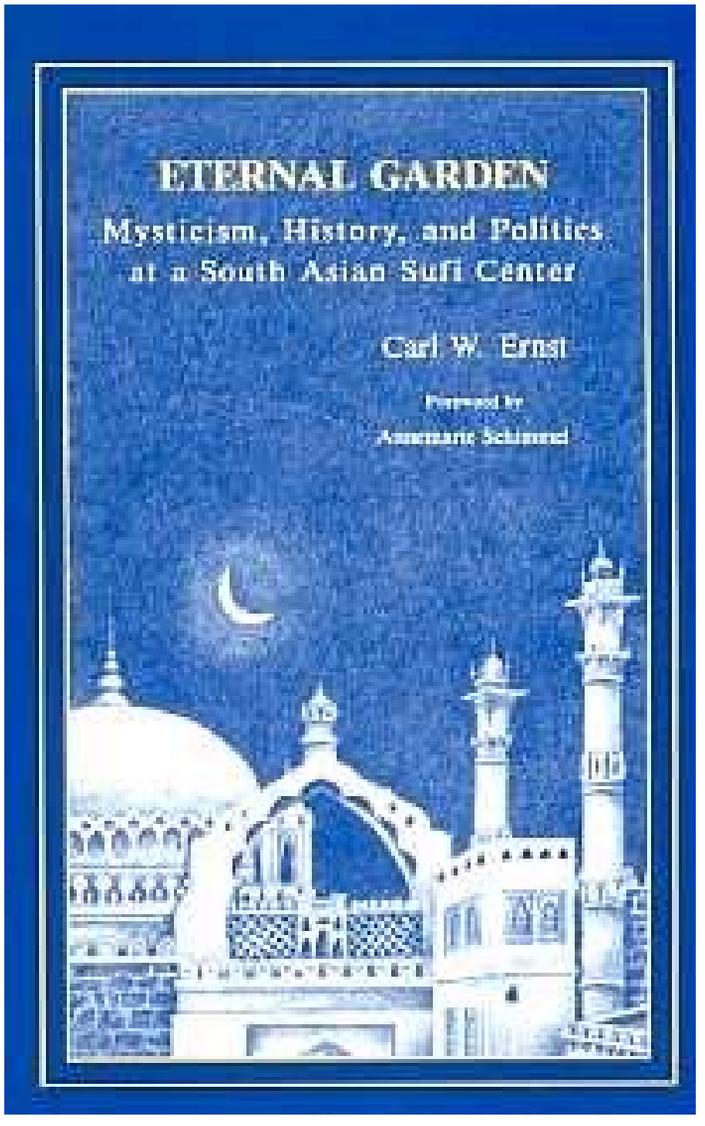
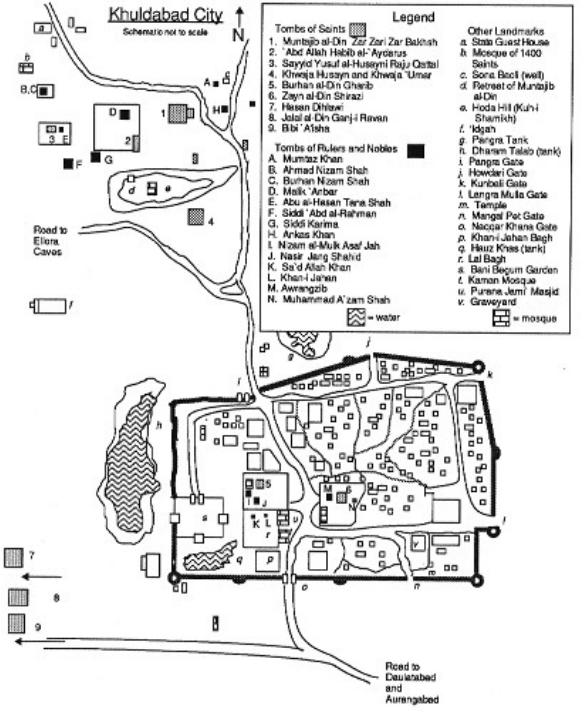

ETERNAL GARDEN
Mysticism, History, and Politics
at a South Asian Sufi Center
Carl W. Ernst
Foreword by
Annemarie Schimmel

Eternal Garden



Map 1.
Khuldabad City

Eternal Garden

Mysticism, History, and Politics at a South Asian Sufi Center

Carl W. Ernst
Foreword by Annemarie Schimmel

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For Sophie and Teresa

روضهٔ خلدبرین خلوتِ درویشان است

حافظ

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Table 1. Initiatic Genealogy of the Khuldabad Chishtis *

1. Muhammad* the Prophet (d. 10/632)
2. `Ali* ibn Abi* Ta1ib* (d. 40/661)
3. Hasan* al-Basri* (d. 110/728)
4. `Abd al-Wahid* ibn Zayd
5. Fuzayl* ibn `Iyaz* (d. 187/802)
6. Ibrahim* ibn Adham (d. 163/779)
7. Huzayqa* al-Mar`ashi*
8. Hubayra al-Basri*
9. `Alu* Dinawari*
10. Abu* Ishaq* Chishti*
11. Abu* Ahmad* Chishti* (d. 355/966)
12. Muhammad* Chishti* (d. 411/1020)
13. Yusuf* Chishti* (d. 459/1067)
14. Mawdud* Chishti* (d. 520/1126)
15. al-Sharif* al-Zandani*
16. `Usman* Harwani* (d. 607/1211)
17. Mu`in* al-Din* Chishti* (d. 633/1236)
18. Qutb* al-Din* Bakhtiyar* Kaki* (d. 633/1235)
19. Farid* al-Din* Ganj-i Shakkar (d. 664/1265)
20. Nizam* al-Din* Awliya'* (d. 725/1325)
21. Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* (d. 738/1337)
22. Zayn al-Din* Shirazi* (d. 771/1369)

Table 2. Dynasties of Indo-Muslim Rulers

(Dates given are dates of accession except at the end of a dynasty)

Khaljis* (Delhi)	
Jalal* al-Din* Firuz*	689/1290
Rukn al-Din* Ibrahim*	695/1296
`Ala'* al-Din* Muhammad*	695/1296
Malik Na'ib/Malik* Kafur*	715/1316
Qutb* al-Din* Mubarak* Shah*	716/1316
Nasir* al-Din* (Khusraw Khan*)	720/1320
Thghluqs (Delhi)	
Ghiyas* al-Din*	720/1320
Muhammad* ibn Tughluq	725/1325
Firuz* Shah*	752/1351
Ghiyas* al-Din* II	790/1388
Abu* Bakr	791/1389
Muhammad* Shah*	792/1390
Nasir* al-Din* Mahmud* II	795/1393
Dawlat Khan* Lodi*	816/1413-817/1414

(continued)

Table 2. *(Continued)*

(Dates given are dates of accession except at the end of a dynasty)

Bahmanis * (Deccan)	
`Ala'* al-Din* Hasan* Bahman Shah*	748/1347
Muhammad* ibn Hasan*	759/1358
`Ala'* al-Din* Mujahid*	776/1375
Da'ud*	780/1378
Muhammad* II	780/1378
Ghiyas* al-Din*	799/1397
Shams al-Din*	799/1397
Ahmad* I Wali*	825/1422
`Ala'* al-Din* Ahmad* II	839/1436
`Ala'* al-Din* Humayun*	862/1458
Nizam*	865/1461
Shams al-Din* Muhammad* III	867/1463
Shihab* al-Din* Mahmud*	887/1482
Ahmad* III	924/1518
`Ala'* al-Din*	927/1521
Wali* Allah*	928/1522
Kalim* Allah*	931/1525-934/1527
Faruqis* (Khandesh)	
Malik Raja* Faruqi*	772/1370
Nasir* Khan*	801/1399
`Adil* Khan* I	841/1437
Miran* Mubarak* Khan* I	844/1441
`Ayna* or `Adil* Khan* II	861/1457
Da'ud* Khan*	909/1503
Ghazni* Khan*	916/1510
`Alam* Khan*	916/1510
`Adil* Khan* III	916/1510
Miran* Muhammad* I	926/1520
Ahmad* Shah*	943/1537
Mubarak* Shah* II	943/1537
Miran* Muhammad* II	974/1566
Hasan* Shah*	984/1576
Raja* `Ali* Khan* or `Adil* Shah* IV	985/1577
Bahadur* Shah*	1005/1597-1009/1601
Mughuls (Hindustan)	
Babur*	932/1526
Humayun*	937/1530
Akbar	963/1556
Jahangir*	1014/1605
Shahjahan*	1037/1628

Table 2. *(Continued)*

(Dates given are dates of accession except at the end of a dynasty)

Awrangzib *	1068/1658
Bahadur* Shah*	1119/1707
(etc.)	
Nizams* (Hyderabad)	
Nizam* al-Mulk Asaf* Jah*	1137/1724
Muhammad* Nasir* Jang	1161/1748
Muzaffar* Jang	1164/1750
Asaf* al-Dawla Salabat* Jang	1165/1752
Nizam* `Ali*	1175/1762
Akbar `Ali* Khan* Sikandar Jah*	1803
Nasir* al-Dawla Farkhanda `Ali* Khan*	1829
Afzal* al-Dawla	1857
Mahbub* `Ali* Khan*	1869
`Usman* `Ali* Khan*	1911-1948

FOREWORD

Khuldabad . . . the name conjures up a sunny day in early November, one of those days when everything seems to be in perfect order. We had reached the small town in the morning and were walking around in the vast cemetery with its impressive mausoleums and modest tombs. The huge trees were slowly shedding their golden leaves as though they were preparing to become real dervishes, opening their arms in prayer. Our Indian friend, Dr. Zia Shakeb, led us through the softly undulating area until we reached the cave on top of Kuh-i * Shamikh*, where Muntajibuddin* Zarzari* used to meditate in the early fourteenth century.

For a few moments we rested near the small mosque on the very top of the hill. The landscape showed steep slopes and some sharp edges, and extended to a hill range. One could well understand that the elite of Delhi's population who were sent here in 1327 felt unhappy in this area, which was so different from the wide plains of the Ganges-Jumna doab. But the air was strong and healthy, so it seemed to us, and we walked to pay our respects to one of those who had left Delhi to settle here, and who had died soon after his arrival: perhaps from longing for his lost home, for the mausoleum of his beloved master Nizamuddin* Auliya* in Delhi. It was Hasan* Sijzi* Dihlawi*, the first to compile *malfuzat**, the sayings of his master, to preserve his words for future generations. At the same time he was, like his friend Amir* Khusrau, a poet who expressed his love in sweet and tender words, less sophisticated than Amir* Khusrau, but moving. Their music seemed to permeate the peaceful morning. And Hasan* Dihlawi's* model of compiling *malfuzat** had triggered off a whole literature, which, to this day, tells of the feats, the daily life*, and the miracles of Sufi saints and which, properly sifted, constitutes an important source for Indo-Muslim history.

We turned to another tomb, modest like his, which is the depository of the earthly remnants of a man whose importance for the history of Muslim India comes to light only slowly—a man who was not only an excellent historian of his beloved Deccan, and especially of Khuldabad, but also a poet who can easily compete with, and perhaps surpass, most Indo-Persian writers of the eighteenth century: Ghulam* `Ali* Azad* Bilgrami*. We had visited his library in

Aurangabad the day before; now we stood near his simple tomb, filled with admiration for a scholar who, in his *Khizana-i * `amira**, produced one of the finest anthologies (*tadhkiras*) of Persian poets, but whose most fascinating work is the *Subhat* al-marjan**, an attempt to prove that India is truly the ideal country for Muslims. Did not Adam come from paradise straight to Sri Lanka, part of the subcontinent, and did not the Prophet himself talk about the Indians? Were not numberless great scholars and poets during the history of Islam connected with, or native of, the subcontinent?

Azad* Bilgrami* tried to prove these points, but perhaps the most valuable part of his book, and a moving expression of his twofold allegiance to Islam and to Indian soil, is his attempt to compare literary and rhetorical forms of Arabic and Sanskrit. We recited our *Fatiha** for this unusual scholar and walked from tomb to tomb, with Dr. Shakeb recapitulating for us the whole history of the Deccan, which could be studied by simply wandering through the vast cemetery of Khuldabad. We entered the precincts of Burhanuddin* Gharib's* shrine, and Mr. Saleem kindly welcomed us, telling with pride of Carl Ernst's visit to the shrine a few years back. We modestly asked whether there would be some *qawwali**, and after we had paid our respects to the various members of the saint's family and his friends, especially to the ladies (or rather, their tombs!), we set out for a visit to the other shrines in Khuldabad while the *qawwali** would be arranged. There was the shrine of Zainuddin* Daud* Daulatabadi*, where the emperor Aurangzeb* as well as his son A'zam* are buried. The simple tomb of Aurangzeb* filled us with awe: there was nothing of the glorious architecture for which his father Shah* Jahan*, and his grandfather Jahangir*, were famed; nothing reminiscent of the artful red and white arabesques of Akbar's tomb in Sikandra, or of the simple grandeur of Humayun's* mausoleum in Delhi. Aurangzeb*, who spent the last thirty years of his long life in the Deccan, lies under the blue sky in a simple marble enclosure, similar to that of his ancestor, the founder of the Mughal dynasty, Babur*, who left the wealth of Hindustan behind him to find his last resting in an open enclosure in Kabul. Who would not remember in such a place Atish's* Urdu prayer:

> O God, give long life to the dark blue sky—
> It is the tent above poor people's tombs!

And looking at the tombs both of famous rulers, founders of dynasties like Asaf* Jah* I, and of dervishes, "the kings without belt and crown," which were stretching before our eyes, Azad* Bilgrami's* lines came to mind:

> In the end, glory turns again to poverty;
> The rose's crown turns into a beggar's bowl.

In the early afternoon the *qawwals** had arrived, and we were transported into the world of mystical delight, carried back through the centuries to the

days when the music-loving Burhanuddin * Gharib* lived here and expressed his love of God in mystical dance. It was an hour outside time and space, and, after looking at some manuscripts, we left the place full of gratitude, carrying with us the orange-colored headgear of the Chishti* order, which the friends in the *dargah** in Khuldabad had bestowed upon us. We drove back to the threatening fortress of Daulatabad. We returned to Aurangabad where we watched, in a late hour, how a weaver produced the famous double-sided silk fabric for which the city was famous. It was still produced according to centuries-old techniques, with a very young boy selecting the thin threads for the patterns with nimble fingers in the dim light of a weak electric bulb. Had anything changed from the days of Burhanuddin* Gharib*?

To be sure, much had changed, and while we enjoyed a day in a truly blessed place and were fortunate enough to be transported back through layer and layer of profane and religious history, the historian's eye could not be content with this merely impressionistic picture of a place saturated with valuable memories.

Carl Ernst returned to Khuldabad to study the documents that he had seen, in part, during his first stay, and that Mr. Saleem and the members of the *dargah** put at his disposal. Thus, he was able to place the history of Khuldabad into a larger framework, similarly to what Richard Eaton had done a dozen years earlier, although not always agreeing with him on the interpretation of Deccani Sufism. The question of the reliability of the *malfuzat** literature had to be tackled, and the much-discussed topic of conversion at the hand of Sufis taken up again. Likewise, the generally accepted view that the Chishtis* had no relations with the government and shunned any official contacts, had to be investigated afresh. The testimony of the documents studied by Carl Ernst show some very interesting features of all these important problems.

There are still many questions to be asked, and many documents from other shrines to be studied—whosoever has seen the scrolls with the *shajaras,* the lineages of the great Sufis in Gulbarga and other places in the Deccan— scrolls that extend over thirty feet and more—knows the immense task before the student of Deccani history. It is important that Carl Ernst has opened a door into this historical field, and I am sure that the book will trigger off a number of further studies in the history of Sufism in southern India. The reader will find much new information, and new light on traditional points in Carl Ernst's study. That his book is written not from the viewpoint of a detached historian who investigates his material without empathy for the human aspects of the documents he is using, but shows the author's warm feelings and his personal interest in Khuldabad and those who have lived and are still living there, seems to me particularly helpful. Without this love and respect for Burhanuddin* Gharib* and his tradition the book would not have been written, for as St. Augustine held, *res tantum cognoscitur quantum*

diligitur—"one can understand something only to the extent that one loves it."

We hope that the book will attract many students of history and show the enormous wealth of the Sufi tradition in southern India, and the numerous possibilities that still lie before the researcher and the admirer of the Indian Sufi tradition.

ANNEMARIE SCHIMMEL

PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

In March 1666, the French traveler Jean de Thevenot took a one-day excursion from the city of Aurangabad in western India, and paused briefly in the town of Rawza on his way to visit the Ellora caves. Having passed by the impressive Daulatabad fort to reach Rawza that morning, he visited the imposing tombs, but he was unable to learn anything about them, being ignorant of the language of the old men who welcomed him:

> When I arrived there, I discovered a spacious Plain of well cultivated Land, with a great many Villages, and Bourgs amidst Gardens, plenty of Fruit-trees and Woods: We Travelled at least for the space of an hour over Plow'd Land, where I saw very fair Tombs several stories high, and covered with domes built of large grayish Stones, and about Half an hour after seven, having passed by a great *Tan-quie,* I alighted near a large Court paved with the same Stones. I went in, but was obliged to put off my Shoes; at first I found a little *Mosque,* where I saw the Bismillah of the *Mahometans* writ over the Door; the signification of the Inscription is, *In the Name of God.* There was no light into the *Mosque,* but what entered by that Door; but there were many Lamps burning in it, and several old Men that were there, invited me to come in, which I did. I saw nothing rare in it, but two Tombs covered with Carpet: And I was extreamly troubled for want of an Interpreter, for else I had known a great many particulars, that I could not be informed of. [1]

Nearly seventy-five years later, in March 1740, the poet and scholar Azad* Bilgrami* returned to India after a prolonged residence in the holy cities of Arabia. He had a very different encounter with Rawza, now also called Khuldabad. Azad* was so charmed by the place that he at once resolved to write a book about the saints buried there, a book that might have answered many of Thevenot's questions:

> In a time of travel and journeying, the divine attraction drew me to the kingdom of the Deccan. Traversing certain stations of the journey

> of life in this kingdom, and obtaining the happiness of visiting the resting saints of sacred Rawza (*rawza-i * muqaddasa,* the sacred garden), I began to investigate the lives and sayings of those saints. Since the lives and sayings of those saints can be seen scattered in the books of the ancients, an inspiration appeared in my devoted heart from the hidden world, that I should collect in brief a sample of their sublime states and events and their sacred words and sayings, and that I should assemble a book called *Garden of the Saints* (*Rawzat* al-awliya**)[2]

Especially during the summer rainy season, when the brown hills are suddenly clothed in green, and the cool rains refresh the heart, Azad* felt that this valley was close to paradise, as he and others have recorded in Persian and Urdu verse. Azad* himself would be buried in Khuldabad in 1786, in a small enclosure next to the tomb of the poet Amir* Hasan* Dihlawi*, who had come to this valley with the rest of the Sufis four and a half centuries earlier. The religious importance of Khuldabad continued to be such that, in the 1880s, the Nizam's gazetteer called the town "the Kerbella of Dekhan Mussulmans," remarking that "these numerous tombs have, as it were, consecrated the place, and caused it to be regarded by Mahomedans as a place of great sanctity."[3]

The modern visitor is no more exempt from the charms of the place than was Azad*. When I first visited Khuldabad in 1975, I too was enchanted, and was possessed by a great curiosity about the figures buried in the stately whitewashed tombs. What sort of people were Muntajib al-Din* "Zar Zari* Zar Bakhsh" ("the giver of gold"), and his brother Burhan* al-Din* Gharib*? Local tradition relates that they led a procession of fourteen hundred Sufi saints from Delhi in the fourteenth century, and this figure is believable when one sees how many carefully tended white tombs dot the hills and valleys around Khuldabad (see Table 3 and Map 1 for a partial list of the tombs of Khuldabad). Among their company most were adherents of the Chishti* order of Sufis, which remains the most popular Sufi brotherhood in south Asia. A few saints are thought to have come even earlier, when the Deccan was ruled by the Hindu Yadava kings—so one is told when visiting Mu'min `Arif's* tomb, colorfully painted yellow and green, on the Daulatabad road. A similar tale is heard at the rural shrine of Jalal* al-Din* Ganj-i Ravan* ("flowing treasure"), which overlooks a scene of stunning pastoral beauty, next to the pond called the Fairies' Tank.

Striking too are the numerous royal tombs, mostly dark and gloomy in their disrepair. Although many are unidentified, among their number are found kings and nobles from many of the dynasties that have ruled the Deccan. The most famous of them include Ahmad* Nizam* Shah* (d. 1508), first

king of Ahmednagar, his son Burhan * Nizam* Shah* (d. 1553), and the redoubtable general of Ahmednagar, Malik `Anbar (d. 1629); Abu* al-Hasan* Tana* Shah* (d. 1699), the last Qutbshahi* king of Golconda; and Awrangzib* (d. 1707), the great Mughul emperor, who is buried in a simple tomb within the precincts of Zayn al-Din* Shirazi*, the chief disciple of Burhan* al-Din* Gharib*. What, indeed, drew them all to be buried here?

Some years later, when doing research on Sufism in India, I came across the work of Azad*, and realized that it was indeed possible to entertain the notion of a historical study of Khuldabad; in this way I could advance beyond the puzzlement of Thevenot. Azad's* work alone would not suffice, however; it was limited by the constraints of later hagiography, which has its own purposes as a genre. He and other medieval writers had mentioned older texts ("the books of the ancients"), which were written down by the disciples of the first Sufis who came to Khuldabad in 1329. The immediate task was to find out how many of these texts survived.

In 1981 I visited Khuldabad again, and through the generosity of the attendants of the shrines, I was allowed to photograph a remarkable series of Persian documents preserved there. These were indeed "the books of the ancients" mentioned by Azad*: four Persian *malfuzat** texts recording the oral discourses of the fourteenth-century Sufi saints, plus a record of the financial operation of the shrines during the fifteenth century. The shrine's library also contained a unique manuscript of a Persian hagiography from the Mughul period and an unusually complete series of revenue documents recording the shrines' land endowments over several centuries, beginning with Akbar and ending with the Nizams of Hyderabad. There were also several rare lithographed Urdu hagiographies. Now it was possible to begin the lengthy task of analysis, but this was complicated by the diversity of the sources, which were written from widely varying points of view; this diversity was especially problematic once the political histories of the medieval period were included. The picture that gradually emerged from the Khuldabad documents was in some ways strikingly different from the standard view of early Sufi history that developed in northern India, and they richly filled in major gaps in our knowledge about a period that is otherwise poorly attested.

Without considering the Khuldabad documents, a full appreciation of the development of Sufi literature in India is not possible. The discourses of Burhan* al-Din* and Zayn al-Din*, and the writings of their disciples, constitute a formidable resource for the religious and social history of early Indian Islam. Why had these materials been neglected up to now? Although favored by the Mughuls and the Nizams, Khuldabad had been bypassed by the British, and the saints of Khuldabad are now hardly known outside the Deccan. The absence of any readily available printed texts on Khuldabad, despite the wealth of materials preserved in the shrines, seemed to correspond to a lack of

Table 3. Principal Saints and Rulers Buried in and near Khuldabad

The main shrines are indicated below first by geographical location, and then in roughly chronological order, with less prominent figures buried in or around the larger complexes listed under the name of the chief saint's tomb. Saints and their disciples are indicated in **bold** while kings and nobles are shown by *italics.* Dates given are death dates, followed by the date of the *`urs* festival, if one is currently observed. It is to be noted that many more of the secular tombs around Khuldabad and Daulatabad remain unidentified.

I. Inside Khuldabad

A. **Burhan * al-Din* Gharib*** (1337; 6 Safar*)

1. The tombs (14th cent.) of many disciples, including the Kashani* brothers **Rukn al-Din*** and **Majd al-Din***.

2. *Nizam* al-Mulk Asaf* Jah** (1748; 4 Jumadi* II), the first Nizam, and his wife *Sayyidat al-Nisa'* Begam**.

3. *Nizam* al-Dawla Nasir* Jang* (1750; 17 Muharram*), the second Nizam, and his wife.

4. *Hidayat* Muhyi* al-Din* Khan* Muzaffar* Jang* (1751), the third Nizam.

5. A number of dignitaries are buried just south of the main tomb, including *`Iwaz* Khan** (d. 1730-31), *Mutawassil* Khan** the uncle of Muzaffar* Jang, *Jamal* al-Din* Khan** (d. 1746), *Shah* Karim* al-Din**, *Shahzada* Jangli** and *Sa`id* al-Din* Siwwum* the ta`alluqdar* of Aurangabad.

6. *Bani* Begam**, a noblewoman of the Mughul period, is buried in a garden southwest of the complex. Her garden and that of *Khan-i* Jahan** (northwest of the Naqqar-khana* gate), both now in ruins, formerly were the adornments of the town. The tombs of *Khan-i* Jahan** and *Sa`d Allah* Khan** are in the Lal Bagh garden just south of the complex.

B. **Zayn al-Din* Shirazi*** (1369; 25 Rabi`* I)

1. **Mawlana* Khwan* Bibi*** (14th cent.), "adoptive daughter" of Zayn al-Din*.

2. The tombs (14th cent.) of many other disciples, such as **Shams al-Din* Fazl* Allah***, **Muhammad* Lashkar,** and **Mir* Hasan***.

3. *Awrangzib** (1707; 22 Dhu* al-Qa`da), Mughul emperor.

4. *Muhammad `Azim* al-Sha'n Bahadur** (1707), and his wife *Awrangi* Bibi**.

5. *Sayyid Mansur**, Mughul governor of Baglana, and his wife; he built this mosque and other buildings in 1663.

II. Outside Khuldabad

A. **Jalal* al-Din* Ganj-i Ravan*** (1247 [?]; 26 Dhu* al-Qa`da), several miles west of Khuldabad.

B. **Muntajib al-Din* Zar Zari* Zar Bakhsh** (1309; 7 Rabi`* I), north of Hoda Hill.

1. Inside the complex

a. **Bibi* Hajira*, mother of Burhan* al-Din* and Muntajib al-Din* (14th cent.; 11 Shawwal*).**

a. (*continued*)

Table 3. (*Continued*)

b. **Sona * Ba'i*, Hindu princess (14th cent.).**

c. The tombs of some relatives (14th cent.), plus several of Burhan* al-Din's* disciples, such as **Farid* al-Din* Adib*** (1337; 29 Muharram*), **Pir* Mubarak* Karwan*** (1340; 5 Shawwal*), etc.

2. West of the complex

a. Badr al-Din* Naw-lakha (14th cent.).

b. **`Abd Allah* Habib* al-`Aydarus* (1631; 5 Safar*).**

c. *Malik `Anbar* (1626; 29 Sha`ban*), Abyssinian general of Ahmednagar.

d. *Siddi* Karima**, wife of Malik `Anbar.

e. *Siddi* `Abd al-Rahman**, grandson of Malik `Anbar.

3. east of the complex

a. *Ankas Khan** (14th cent.), a noble of the Tughluq period.

b. *Mumtaz* Khan**.

C. **Sayyid Yusuf* al-Husayni* Raju* Qattal*** (1330; 5 Shawwal*), north of Hoda Hill.

1. Inside the complex

a. **Sayyid Chandan Sahib*.**

b. *Abu* al-Hasan* Tana* Shah** (1699; 13 Rabi`* I), the last Qutb* Shahi* king of Golconda, who was imprisoned in the Daulatabad fort until his death.

c. *Nawwab* Marhamat* Khan**, a Mughul governor of Awrangabad.

d. *Da'ud* Khan** (d. 1715), a Mughul governor of Burhanpur, and his brothers and sisters.

2. North of the complex

a. Mosque of the **1400 Saints** (14th cent.), also containing the graves of scholars such as **Zahir* al-Din* B'hakkari*.**

b. *Ahmad* Nizam* Shah** (1508), first king of Ahmednagar.

c. *Burhan* Nizam* Shah** (1553), second king of Ahmednagar.

D. **Amir* Hasan* `Ala'* Dihlawi* Sijzi*** (1336; 29 Safar*), west of Khuldabad.

1. **Azad* Bilgrami*** (1786).

E. **Khwaja* Husayn*** (1349; 27 Sha'ban*) and Khwaja* **`Umar,** uncles of Zayn al-Din* Shirazi*, just south of Hoda Hill.

F. **Bibi* `A'isha*** (14th cent.; 7 Sha`ban*), daughter of Farid* al-Din* Ganj-i Shakkar, south of Hasan* Dihlawi's* tomb.

G. **Shah* Khaksar*** (17th cent.; 26 Rajab), two miles southwest of Ganj-i Ravan's* tomb.

III. Near Daulatabad Fort

A. Mu'min `Arif* (13th cent. [?]; 20 Safar*).

B. Mardan* al-Din* (1335; 17 Safar*).

C. **Nizam* al-Din* Pesh* Imam*** (1370; I Rabi'* II), in Kaghzipura.

D. `Ala'* al-Din* Ziya'* (14th cent.; 5 Safar*)**.**

E. Baha'* al-Din* Ansari* (1515; 19 Safar*).

official interest in an area now regarded as provincial. Bringing these materials back into the light makes it possible to compensate for the distortions caused by the adventitious omission of Khuldabad from history.

To balance these new discoveries against the received view of Indian Sufism, I found it necessary to develop an approach that would allow for the historiographical interpretation of each document as a literary text, something that has been done often in other fields but rarely in south Asian history. Thus the main object of this book is to present a method for reading Sufi texts historiographically, rather than to produce an "objective" history of Sufism in this region. [4] The Khuldabad texts were not to be privileged over other well-known texts, but each had to be read, or reread, as an independent and legitimate testimony, to be overlaid upon, compared with, or differentiated from the rest. Since this approach covers the full range of textual sources for south Asian Islam, it necessitates a rethinking of the basic categories of this field. The problems in the study of Islam in south Asian history, discussed in detail in Part I, frequently derive from an inappropriate politicization of texts in a way that reflects contemporary issues. What I would like to do is to restore, as far as possible, the original political context of each document under consideration. The conceptual difficulties that underly much received terminology can best be attacked, in my opinion, by an intensive study of a tightly circumscribed field, a microstudy, in other words. By closely examining the perspectives in all the available textual materials from a single location, and then plotting their trajectories through history, it is possible to reconsider the fundamental ideas that are in common use. This study is also, therefore, a reconsideration of the study of Islam in south Asia.

The plan of the book is to begin with the most general aspects of the study of south Asian Islam, to narrow the focus to the Khuldabad Sufis themselves, and then to expand outward, following the impact of the Sufi establishment in Khuldabad on later society. Part I, "Historiographical Orientation: Sufism and Islam in India," surveys the early Sufi tradition in Islam and analyzes the principal religious and political historiographies that underly the different medieval texts. One of the main concerns of this section is to separate contemporary ideological issues from the quite different political context of the sources. Part II, "Chishti* Sufism at Khuldabad," begins by describing current debates over the role of Sufism in relationship to the expansion of Turkish imperialism in India. The core of this section, however, is an account of the establishment of the Chishti* Sufi tradition in the Deccan and a description of their principal religious practices as revealed in the earliest sources. This is followed by a consideration of the Sufis' relation to the Indian environment, and especially the controversial question of their role regarding conversion to Islam by non-Muslims. Part III, "The Khuldabad Sufis in History," discusses the political involvement of the early Chishti* masters of Khuldabad, and then documents the later role of the Sufi shrines in Indian politics, up to the

nineteenth century. This section also deals with the development of a local hagiography of Khuldabad, which integrated the early Chishti * saints into a sacred geography partly derived from local Maharashtran cosmologies.

The result is intended to be, not a definitive account of the "facts" at Khuldabad, but a presentation of the multidimensional impact of the Sufis of Khuldabad as preserved in a variety of testimonies. Thus, as the subtitle indicates, this book is about the interaction of Sufi mysticism, politics, and history in one particular location, Khuldabad, in the hope that this will tell us more about how to understand Islam in south Asia.

Khuldabad poses many other questions that are beyond the scope of this book. Its close proximity to Ellora, the site of splendid rock-cut caves and temples, puts the valley of Sufi saints nearly on top of some of the most ancient Hindu, Buddhist, and Jain monuments in the region. While it is perhaps common for new religious centers to be established at places already sacralized by previous religious traditions, it is striking to contemplate the spectacle of Sufi shrines so close to majestic Buddha statues, Jina figures, and the great Kailash temple to Shiva. Khuldabad as a monumental funerary complex also needs to be compared to other extensive Muslim graveyards, such as Makli Hill in Sind or Gulbarga in the Deccan. The phenomenon of royal tombs in juxtaposition with Sufi shrines calls out for further investigation. Architectural historians will surely be able to shed light on the historical development and ritual uses of these complexes, which remain so far unstudied. The special local rituals performed at the shrines throughout the year present fascinating materials for the fields of ethnomusicology and religious studies. The testimonies of Urdu poets such as Wali* and Siraj* contain unexplored literary perspectives on the saints of Khuldabad. South Asia holds many such centers of religious authority, and I am certain that in cities such as Lucknow, Allahabad, Burhanpur, and many others, rich documentary collections in private hands still offer ample opportunities for patient researchers.

This book is intended for several audiences, including scholars of Islam, Indology, history, and comparative religion; the notes contain particular de-mils and sources of interest to them. But I also have in mind a wider public, including many friends from south Asia, who are seriously interested in Sufism and its history. I hope that all these groups may find something of value in this study, and that this book may contribute to the clarification of the issues at stake in the study of south Asian Islam. More than anything else, this is a book about stories. I hope this book may make readers more aware of the many different kinds of story that form the basis for our knowledge of the past.

The epigraph that suggested the title for this book, *Eternal Garden,* is the first line of a poem by the great Persian poet Hafiz* (d. 1392), "The cloister of the dervishes is an eternal garden" (*rawza-i* khuld-i barin* khilvat-i darvishanast**).[5] This verse suggested itself not only because of its aptness as a descrip-

tion of the shrines of Khuldabad, but also due to the verbal similarity: *rawza* *, "garden," was the original name of the town, and *khuld-i barin**, "utter eternity," is reminiscent of the town's later name Khuldabad, "eternally flourishing."[6] A secondary meaning of *rawza** is "mausoleum," above all the tomb of the Prophet Muhammad* in Medina. Since the Prophet and, to a lesser degree, the Sufi saints, are regarded as being admitted to the divine presence, their earthly remains constitute for their followers a focus radiating the influence of heaven. Rawza was, then, a most appropriate name for this town, which was the first major Sufi shrine and center of pilgrimage in the Deccan. The verse of Hafiz* has an ambiguity as applied to Khuldabad, since it meant symbolically that Sufis keep their seclusion in the highest paradise, the archetypal eternal garden. By using *Eternal Garden* as the title for the book, I have perhaps done violence to the poem, for the subtitle brings this garden down to earth and historicizes it. Yet it is my feeling that Hafiz* would have enjoyed this ambiguity, and the curious spectacle of kings seeking after death the protection of those who rejected the world of the court. After all, his poem concludes with praise of his patron as one who possesses "the form of the ruler and the morals of the dervishes." One imagines that Hafiz* would certainly have taken the opportunity to contemplate the atmosphere of these Sufi shrines, had he accepted the invitation of the Bahmani* Sultan to come from Shiraz to the Deccan in the 1380s.

I would like to express here my profound thanks, first of all, to Fariduddin Saleem, President of the Committee Dargahjat-i Hadd-i Kalan, as well as Mohd. Abdul Hai, Nuruddin, and the other *khadims** of the shrines of Khuldabad. Without their generosity, which permitted me to have access to the Khuldabad manuscript collection, this project would not have been possible. I would like also to thank them for inviting me to Khuldabad as a speaker at the observance of the 700th *`urs* festival of Shaykh Muntajib al-Din* Zar Zari* Zar Bakhsh in 1987. There are many others I would like to thank, for their valuable help over the years, especially Prof. Annemarie Schimmel of Harvard University, who guided me in the study of both classical Sufism and south Asian Islam, and Prof. K. A. Nizami of Aligarh Muslim University, who initiated me into the study of Indo-Muslim history and historiography. I would also like to thank many others who have generously commented on earlier drafts of this study, but who are not to be held responsible for my final judgments; these include Bruce Lawrence of Duke University, Richard Eaton of the University of Arizona, A. Kevin Reinhart of Dartmouth College, Shantanu Phukan of the University of Chicago, L. Carl Brown of Princeton University, Clifford Geertz of The Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton, Beatrice Manz of Tufts University, Peter Jackson of the University of Keele, Paul L. Hanson of California Lutheran College, and Robert Woods of Pomona College. Brannon Wheeler of the University of Chicago provided valuable assistance in compiling the bibliographical material in Appendix A and pre-

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The transliteration system employed here for Persian and Arabic names and terms is that of the *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies.* Words of Indic origin are shown with underdot for retro flex consonants, tilde on nasal *n,* and apostrophe before the *h* of aspirated consonants. Despite occasional ambiguities, this system seemed to be the best compromise between accuracy and simplicity. Spellings of place names follow current usage in south Asia, while spelling of Muslim personal names omits Persian *izafa* *, which is not pronounced in south Asia. Calendrical equivalents were determined with the aid of Prof. John Woods's "Taqwim" computer program, using Julian equivalents for the lunar Muslim *hijri** era up to October 4, 1582, and the Gregorian thereafter. When taken from original sources, the *hijri** date is given first, followed by a slash and the Common Era date; centuries, dates taken from secondary sources, and other well-established dates are given only in the Common Era.

PART I
HISTORIOGRAPHICAL ORIENTATION: SUFISM AND ISLAM IN SOUTH ASIA

Before beginning to discuss the Sufis of Khuldabad, it is necessary to explore the historical background of the Sufi tradition of Islamic mysticism and the problems of historical interpretation surrounding the Islamic presence in the Indian subcontinent. The Sufis of Khuldabad saw themselves as the carriers of a teaching that went back to the Prophet Muhammad *, and their literature depends greatly on the writings of the early Sufis and Islamic scholars of the Near East and central Asia. Into this "classical" heritage they incorporated the oral traditions and teachings of the Chishti* order, which from its obscure origins in Afghanistan became the most widespread Sufi order in India. The Sufis were also participants in a society organized under the sultanate of Delhi, which was nominally Islamic, and which was the latest example of a Turkish empire of conquest to be carved out of India.

There are many conflicting modern views on the nature of the entrance of Islam into India, but most of these views derive from much later political preoccupations, such as Mughul imperialism, British colonialism, Indian or Pakistani nationalism, and other ideological concerns foreign to the medieval period. Consequently it is necessary to bring out the underlying reasons for these conflicting historiographical approaches so that we may consciously discard these irrelevant modern biases, as far as possible. Bringing out at the same time some of the complex views that medieval Muslims held of India, and the equally complex views that Indians held of Muslims, helps to measure the distance between modern ideologies and the culture of seven centuries ago. The question of the religious orientation of the Delhi sultanate can then be more easily addressed, in terms of its basis in Persian kingship and its overlay of Islamic symbolism. This will help to clarify the sultanate's policies toward non-Muslim institutions, and above all its constant tension over against Sufism. The historiographical picture will be rounded out by a sketch of the development of the Sufi literature of "discourses" (*malfuzat**) and a brief analysis of the types and purposes of Indian Sufi hagiography in different historical periods.

1
Sufism

The Sufi Tradition

We can best approach the Sufi tradition from the standpoint of the history of religion by understanding it as the conscious participation in Islamic mysticism as attested by one's formal initiation into a Sufi lineage or involvement as a lay follower. We must rely mostly on literary sources for our knowledge of the religious history, practices, and teachings of Sufism. From early Arabic Sufi sources it is apparent that Sufism as a distinctive way of life did not come into being immediately at the founding of the Islamic community by the Prophet Muhammad *; rather, it slowly emerged as an emphasis on seeking salvation through intensive devotion to the commands of the creator of heaven and earth, and absorption in the word of God revealed in the Qur'an*. Early Sufi authorities acknowledge that the term "Sufi" (derived from *suf*, the wool worn by pre-Islamic prophets and ascetics) was not in general use before the time of Abu* Hashim* al-Sufi*, though some assert that the term was known to early Muslim religious figures such as Hasan* al-Basri* (d. 728) and Sufyan* al-Thawri* (d. 778). [1] Nonetheless, Sufis regard the Prophet Muhammad* as their chief example and inspiration. For that very reason, argued Abu* Nasr al-Sarraj* (d. 988), during Muhammad's* lifetime no higher title than "companion [of the Prophet]" could exist. Thus it was quite some time after the death of the Prophet that the need arose for a new term to designate those holy people who acquired the prophetic qualities of asceticism, devotion, trust in God, poverty, and patience.[2] In practice, the term "Sufi" tends to be less used than a variety of other terms that describe the different aspects or vocations of Sufism: "devotee" (*`abid**)," "poor" (Ar. *faqir** or Pers. *darvish**), "ascetic" (*zahid**), "lover" (*`ashiq** or *yar**), "gnostic" (*`arif**), etc.

In modern times, European orientalists sometimes argued that Sufism was not really Islamic, basing themselves on an abstract definition of Islam

that was often derived from the hostile context of European colonialization of Islamic countries. A number of alternative hypotheses were proposed, suggesting that Sufism was "derived from" Neoplatonic, Christian, Buddhist, or Hindu sources. According to this approach, the speculative and mystical qualities of Sufism could be explained away as foreign elements somehow imported into the Islamic faith (some of these theories followed racial stereotypes, portraying mysticism as the Aryan influence that Persians introduced into the static Semitic religion of the Arabs). In this way one could still retain the convenient picture of Islam as a sterile and fanatic religion of legalism.

Two factors have helped to discredit this old orientalist theory. First is the slow realization that scholars were allowing their judgment to be affected by Christian hostility toward Islam (an old quarrel going back to the crusades and perpetuated in secular form since the colonial period). Second is the growth of a more solid understanding of Sufism based on informed and sympathetic reading of the original sources as they are understood within the Islamic tradition. [3]

It is of course true that a tremendous variety of cultures flourished in the cosmopolitan milieux of the Umayyad and `Abbasid Caliphates (ca. 632-945), which was also the formative period of the Sufi movement. But the quest for "influences" on Sufism tells us nothing about the *meaning* of religious doctrines and practices in their Islamic context. The appropriation of terms and practices from earlier religious traditions is scarcely a passive transaction, no matter what the context in which it occurs. "Influence" is nothing but a rather physical metaphor suggesting the flowing in of a substance into an empty vessel. This is hardly a satisfactory model for the complicated process by which people of one culture interpret and put to new uses themes and symbols from another culture.[4] Taking for instance the argument that the rosary came from India into the hands of first Muslims and then Christians, it is hard to attribute any Indian "influence" upon those who use it to count Christian or Islamic prayers. This kind of analysis only has meaning in an outsider's perspective shared at most by a few specialists; its significance is limited, since it is essentially irrelevant to those who participate in the tradition. Since both the texts and the living expositors of Sufism universally point to Muhammad* and the Qur'an* as the twin fountainheads of Sufism, it has become clear that the search for external "influences" has nothing to do with what it means to be a Sufi. These were academic games intended to reveal the derivative, and hence inauthentic, nature of any otherwise admirable aspects of Islamic culture.[5]

To give one example of how insiders understand the Sufi tradition, we may summarize the way that Abu* Nasr* al-Sarraj* presents Sufism in his tenth-century *Kitab* al-luma` fi* al-tasawwuf** (*Book of glimmerings on Sufism*). The book consists of an introduction, twelve main chapters, and an appendix. The introduction discusses Sufism as a science in the curriculum of Islamic re-

ligious sciences. The first chapter deals with the spiritual states (*ahwal* *) and stages (*maqamat**) of Sufism, the second with the interpretation of the Qur'an*, the third with following the example of the Prophet Muhammad*, the fourth returns to the mystical interpretation of the Qur'an* and prophetic sayings, while the fifth chapter discusses the companions of the Prophet. Special Sufi topics only begin with the sixth chapter on Sufi practices (their "manners" [*adab**] in religious rituals, social customs, and ethics), followed by the seventh on Sufi writings (including letters, poetry, and prayers), the eighth on listening to recited poetry (*sama`**), the ninth on ecstasy (*wajd*), and the tenth on miracles. The eleventh chapter is a lexicon of Sufi terminology, while the twelfth chapter is a commentary on the apparently outrageous ecstatic sayings (*shathiyyat**) of the Sufis. These are followed by a final section on erroneous practices and opinions that are to be found among Sufis. Sarraj* wrote this book intending to characterize the genuine basis of Sufism in mystical experience, and to refute both the critics of Sufism and its unqualified exponents; neither of these groups, in his view, had the necessary experience or learning to understand the subject.[6] From the presentation of Sarraj*, which remained an authoritative and influential classic in later centuries, it can be seen that Sufism constitutes itself as a tradition rooted in the Qur'an* and in the Prophet Muhammad*. Sufism includes the study of Islamic religious learning, which then takes on a distinctively mystical quality from the constant interpretation of traditional subjects in terms of the internal experiences of the soul.

Sufism seems to have originated first in Iraq and then became established in northern Iran, especially Khurasan.[7] By the tenth century, Sufism was a well-established movement with a large literature. The handbooks and biographical treatises produced at this time linked Sufism with noted ascetics from the earliest periods of Islam, so that the public presentation of Sufism emphasized that it was a rigorous form of practical discipline and knowledge comparable to the principal Islamic religious sciences. Sufi literature covered many different subjects, to some extent overlapping the main Islamic religious and literary fields, since Sufi masters were frequently authorities in Islamic law, theology, and related subjects.

Primary was the study of the Qur'an*, and Sufi writers have created an enormous literature on the mystical interpretation of the sacred book. The earliest Sufi Qur'an* commentaries took as a nucleus the commentary of the sixth imam of the Shi`a*, Ja`far al-Sadiq* (d. 765). The comments of many masters (Sahl al-Tustari*, Hallaj*, and others) were preserved and collected, particularly in the voluminous commentaries of Sulami* (d. 1021), Ruzbihan* Baqli* (d. 1209), and other Sufi scholars.[8] Biography, too,was a favorite form of literature in Sufism, because of its value as an entertaining way to convey norms of behavior. Sufi biographical works initially followed the model of *hadith** scholarship, which collected the sayings of the Prophet Muhammad*. These biographies initially focused on the Sufis as the transmitters of religious

knowledge, but they gradually expanded from being the records of the sayings of the saints to become a voluminous narrative literature filled with stories of the deeds of the saints. Numerous popular biographical works on Sufis are available, from the classical writings of Abu * Nu`aym al-Isfahani* (d. 1037) in Arabic and Farid* al-Din* `Attar* (d. 1220) in Persian, to the many hagiographies in a variety of modem languages.[9]

Some of the earliest prose treatises concerning Sufism were apologetic works designed to show that Sufism was not in conflict with the Islamic religious sciences, but complemented and perfected them. Demonstration of the authenticity of Islamic mysticism had become necessary in the wake of the highly politicized persecution of certain Sufis, particularly Husayn* ibn Mansur* al-Hallaj* (d. 922).[10] To this class of defensive writing belong the works of Sarraj*, Abu* Bakr al-Kalabadhi* (d. 990), and Abu* al-Qasim* al-Qushayri* (d. 1074), who related Sufism to Hanafi* jurisprudence and Ash`ari* theology. Similar to the apologetic works were the large comprehensive surveys of the mystical practice of religion by Abu* Talib* al-Makki* (d. 996) and Abu* Hamid* al-Ghazali* (d. 1111). These treatises, which were firmly grounded in Islamic learning and piety, served to introduce and popularize the interiorizing approach of the Sufis among the more conservative Islamic religious scholars. Speculative metaphysics also became a special topic among some Sufi writers, notably al-Hakim* al-Tirmidhi* (d. ca. 932), Shihab* al-Din* Yahya* al-Suhrawardi* (d. 1191), and Muhyi* al-Din* ibn `Arabi* (d. 1240). These gnostics (using the Arabic term *`arif** in its etymological sense of "knower") explored the intellectual aspects of mystical experience, and even employed the terminology of Neoplatonic philosophy to clarify the metaphysical implications of Sufi teachings. Again, this was not a case of mechanical influence, but a sophisticated appropriation of metaphysical concepts to mystical experience.

Sufis also communicated their insights through poetry, from the dense Arabic mystical verses of the early Sufis quoted by Sarraj* through the vast inspired epics in Persian by Sana'i* (d. 1131), `Attar* (d. 1220), and Rumi* (d. 1273). In letters, too, Sufi authors such as Junayd of Baghdad (d. 910) developed an elliptical style of writing aimed at others who were qualified to understand their inner meaning. The most intense of all the literary expressions of Sufism were the ecstatic utterances (*shathiyyat**) that emerged from overwhelming experiences of divine unity and the annihilation of selfhood. Many of these sayings, such as Abu* Yazid's* "Glory be to me!" and Hallaj's* "I am the Truth," still retain much of their original shock value.[11] The special technical terminology developed in all these types of Sufi writings, which was designed both to clarify for the initiates and to exclude the unworthy, even led to the writing of lexicons of mystical terms.[12]

The Sufi approach to Islamic practice is that of interiorization, beginning with the broad path of the religious law (*shari`a**), and proceeding via the path (*tariqa**) of the Sufis to the divine reality (*haqiqa**).[13] To put it in other terms,

everything has an external (*zahir* *) and a corresponding internal (*batin**) aspect. If the religious law and practices of Islam are taken as the external form, then Sufism is its inner meaning. The inner and the outer are inseparable; one cannot approach the divine, internal reality except through the external religious structure.

An example of the interiorized Sufi approach to traditional Islamic religious practices is Sarraj's* account of ritual prayer (*salat**), from the chapter on "manners." Sarraj* insists that from the beginning a Sufi must know all aspects of prayer as discussed by the religious scholars. This learning is necessary because of the paramount place of ritual prayer in religion, and particularly because it is the locus in which the whole range of internal spiritual experience becomes available. "Ritual prayer is the station of union, nearness, awe, humility, fear, glorification, gravity, witnessing, contemplation, secrets, intimate conversations with God Most High, standing in the presence of God, acceptance by God, and turning away from that which is other than God."[14] While the ordinary believers must consult the religious scholars about the subjects of their various specialities, the elite Sufis, who concentrate exclusively on God, know the subject of ritual prayer better than anyone else. A similar attitude governs the Sufi treatment of the other Islamic religious practices (fasting, pilgrimage, alms, etc.): not only do the Sufis perform the literal requirements of the law, but also they fulfill it more perfectly than others do. As Sarraj* points out with reference to Sufis' pilgrimage to Mecca, "Their custom is hold firmly to the most comprehensive [interpretation] of religious duties, and to seize the most perfect part of the science of religious law; dependence on being excused is the way of the masses, and accepting comfort and rationalization is the condition of the weak."[15] Sufism is therefore unthinkable without the basic Islamic religious practices. This point may be obvious to those who have studied the subject, but since one still meets with the facile assertion that Sufism is not really Islamic, it is worth repeating here: Sufism is the mystical intensification of Islamic religious consciousness.[16]

The articulation of internal experiences in Sufism was broadly divided into the two categories of "states" (*hal**, pl. *ahwal**) and "stations" (*maqam**, pl. *maqamat**). The states were typically described as temporary conditions of the soul caused by God's spontaneous manifestations in one's consciousness. Junayd of Baghdad (d. 910) defined the state as "an event that descends on hearts and does not last."[17] Ruzbihan* Baqli* called it "that which reaches the heart from the hidden lights .... It is the whim of [divine] manifestation."[18] While the states could not be induced by human effort, the stations in contrast were described as the results of the soul's striving to attain the qualities of God. Sarraj* gives the meaning of station as "the station of the creature before God, in terms of where one stands from devotions, exertions, meditations, and concentrating on God."[19] Repentance (*tawba*), asceticism (*zuhd*), poverty

(*faqr*), patience (*sabr* *), trust in God (*tawakkul*), and satisfaction (*rida'* *) are some of the principal stations.[20]

The elaboration and refinement of these psychological categories became increasingly refined over time, so that the Sufis developed a complex technical vocabulary to describe a wide variety of states and stages.[21] Sufis practised many forms of religious exercises and meditations, most of which could be best described as prayers linked to the states and stages of Sufi experience. A variety of terms describe the forms of verbal address of God, ranging from the most spontaneous to the literary and the ritualistic. Simple free prayer (*du`a'**), frequently modeled on the prayers of Muhammad*, was perhaps the most common form of addressing God.[22] There are also long and eloquent invocations (*da`awat**), in which the early Sufis expressed their supplications and praise of God, and beautiful "intimate conversations" (*munajat**) expressing the most delicate shades of meaning.[23] The most distinctive category of Sufi prayer is *dhikr* (pl. *adhkar**), the Qur'anic* term for "recollection" of God.[24] From being a general term for remembering God at all times, *dhikr* gradually came to mean the repetition of the names of God or other formulas, either silently or aloud, as a form of meditation. By the time of al-Ghazali* (d. 1111), there were numerous accepted rules and techniques of *dhikr,* and later Sufis considered *dhikr* to be one of the most important of religious exercises.

In addition to prayer, Sufis also were fond of listening to the recitation of mystical poetry, often with musical accompaniment, in what came to be known as *sama`**, literally "listening."[25] The use of music, and occasionally spontaneous dancing, in Sufi assemblies, was one of the most controversial of Sufi practices. Arguments raged over the question of legitimacy of *sama`** according to Islamic law, and long treatises were written on both sides, debating the somewhat inconclusive *hadith** reports that indicated the Prophet Muhammad's* attitude toward music and poetry.[26] Sufi mystical poetry in both Arabic and Persian tended to incorporate the imagery of love and intoxication, but used it in an allegorical or symbolic sense, so that the beautiful beloved and the glass of wine were symbols of God and divine love. In this way *sama`** was frequently an occasion for experiencing ecstasy (*wajd*) from hearing the recited verses. Nevertheless, Sufi authorities recognized that musical sessions could potentially degenerate into sensual excesses, and they accordingly established strict guidelines, stressing purity of intention as the most important criterion for *sama`**.[27]

The concept of sainthood (*wilaya**) was the culmination of Sufism as a path (*tariqa**) leading toward direct experience of God. The term *wali** (pl. *awliya'**), usually translated as "saint," is a Qur'anic* term best illustrated in 10:62, "The friends of God (*awliya'* allah**)—they have no fear, neither do they grieve." Since *wali** has the connotations of friendship and authority or trusteeship, the Islamic concept of sainthood implies the saint's closeness to God and also the saint's role as executor and implementer of divine commands. From

the earliest period of Sufism, saints were regarded as the invisible supports of the universe; an invisible hierarchy headed by the *qutb* * or "axis" of the world carries out the will of God in all things. Sainthood is the foundation of Sufism, according to Hujwiri, and the internal basis of sainthood forms one of the most important topics of Sufi literature.[28]

Divine knowledge (*ma`rifa*), revelation (*kashf*), love of God (*`ishq*), and annihilation in God (*fana'**) are the characteristics of the perfect saint; these internal attainments provide the certainty that lifts the saint above worldly fears. Saints are also endowed with external abilities to perform extraordinary deeds, "miracles," which form the subject of many stories. Insofar as the concept of sainthood verged upon that of prophecy, another controversy emerged. Determining the relationship between the prophet and the saint was a delicate and difficult matter, similar to the problem of defining the relationship between the prophet and the imam in Shi`i Islam. The vast majority of Sufis agree that sainthood is just the beginning of prophethood, and that the Prophet Muhammad* remains the perfect exemplar to be imitated by the saints.

Sufism in Islamic Society

Although the early social history of Sufism is obscure, from later biographical sources we can get a picture of the slow emergence of a distinct group of pious ascetics. Living to some exent on the margins of society, many early Sufis appear from their names to have been townspeople who made their living at minor trades and crafts: the weaver (Khayr al-Nassaj*), the blacksmith (Abu* Hafs* al-Haddad*), the saddler (Sarraj*), the ragpicker (Saqati*), the fuller (Qassar*), the cobbler (Kharraz*), the draper (Bazzaz*), the butcher (Qassab*), are all titles that Sufis bore. Some formerly practised unlawful professions such as usury (Habib* al-`Ajami*) and highway robbery (Fudayl* ibn `Iyad*) before their repentance. Several early Sufis, such as Ibrahim* ibn Adham and Fatima*, the wife of Ahmad* ibn Khadruya*, are said to have renounced positions of royalty to take up religious life. The two great centers of Sufism were Baghdad and the cities of Khurasan (north-western Iran). The early Sufi movement was relatively unstructured, consisting of like-minded people freely associating in loose circles rather than any formal organization as in later times.

Nonetheless, the recognition of the importance of spiritual authority was fundamental to Sufism, and over time this led to the articulation of the master-disciple relationship. Sufis counted several among the Prophet Muhammad's* associates as their spiritual forebears, especially those who had ascetic tendencies, such as Abu* Dharr, or were renowned for their religious knowledge, such as `Ali*, Ibn `Abbas*, or Uways al-Qarani*. The first four caliphs are generally mentioned with reverence in early Sufi writings, as are the four

founders of the principal Islamic legal schools, and the imams of the Twelver Shi`a *. The growth of the tradition can be seen in the oral transmission of sayings from the most eminent masters, passed on in much the same way as the hadith reports of the Prophet Muhammad*. Association (*suhba**) with the leading Sufis was the best way to get in touch with their teachings. In this way the basis was established for a chain of transmission of Sufism from master to disciple, going back all the way to the Prophet Muhammad* as in hadith.

The instruction of Sufi masters at this early period was personal and direct, and did not yet have the form of a systematic rule. An example of the general ethical maxims that characterized early Sufi teaching is a list of ten injunctions that Abu* al-Husayn* al-Nuri* (d. 907) gave to his friends in his testament (*wasiya**):

> I heard `Ali* ibn `Abd Allah* al-Jahdami* say, I heard `Ali* ibn `Ubayd Allah* al-Khayyat* say, I heard Abu* Muhammad* al-Murta`ish say, I heard Abu* al-Husayn* al-Nuri* say, when he was giving his testament to some of his associates: There are ten things in which you should persevere and exert yourself.

1. He whom you see claiming to be with God (who is great and mighty) in a state that takes him beyond the limit of the learning of the religious law—do not on any account approach him.

2. He whom you see relying on those other than his kinsmen and mixing with them—do not on any account approach him.

3. He whom you see sitting in authority, the object of respect—do not on any account approach him, do not receive his assistance, even if he aids you, and do not hope for success from him.

4. He whom you see a poor man (*faqir**) who returns to the world—even if you are dying of hunger, do not on any account approach him, and do not receive his assistance if he aids you, for if he aids you, your heart will be hardened for forty days.

5. He whom you see self-sufficient in his own knowledge—beware of his ignorance.

6. He whom you see claiming a state for which his internal nature furnishes no guide, and to which the safeguarding of his external nature does not testify—suspect his religion.

7. He whom you see satisfied with himself and relying on his own momentary state (*waqt*)—know that he is deceived, and warn him with the strongest warning.

8. An aspirant who listens to [secular] poetry and inclines towards luxury—do not expect any good from him.

9. A poor man whom you do not see present at a music session (*sama`**)—suspect him and know that he obstructs the blessings

of that because of the confusion of his conscience and the scattering of his concentration.

10. He whom you see depending on his friends, brothers, and companions while claiming to possess perfect character—testify to the feebleness of his intellect and the weakness of his religion. [29]

In each case, Nuri* is warning the novices against association with certain types of people: those who think they are above the law, social climbers, people in power, hypocrites, smug ignoramuses, boasters, the self-deluded, the self-indulgent, the unsociable, and the weak in character.

Beginning around the eleventh century, Sufi activity started to become more formalized, centering on communal life in a hospice or retreat (Pers. *khanqah**, Ar. *zawiya**), and at this point the need arose for systematic rules to govern the behavior of novices. In contrast to the general advice of Nuri* on the types of people to avoid, the rule of the Iranian master Abu* Sa`id* ibn Abi* al-Khayr (d. 1047) set up a series of definite rules and practices for Sufi residents at the hospice. Here is Abu* Sa`id's* list of ten rules:

1. The disciple should keep his garments clean and be always in a state of ritual purity.

2. One should not sit in a holy place for gossiping.

3. The prayer should be performed in the congregation, particularly by the beginner.

4. Much night prayer is recommended.

5. At dawn, the disciple should pray for forgiveness.

6. Then, in the early morning, he should read the Qur'an*, abstaining from talk till sunrise.

7. Between the two evening prayers, he should be occupied with his recollection (*dhikr*) and the special litany (*wird*) given to him by his master.

8. The Sufi should welcome the poor and needy, and look after them.

9. He should not eat without another person participating—to eat alone is considered unpleasant and unlawful; to offer even the smallest morsel to a brother who may be hungrier than the host is highly appreciated.

10. The disciple should not absent himself without permission.[30]

All the rules in this list presuppose a communal living situation with a regular routine of worship, and the relationship of the individual Sufi aspirant to the community, lay visitors, and the spiritual director. As the Sufi movement became more widely established, the need to define appropriate modes of behavior eventually resulted in handbooks containing hundreds of rules for novices.[31]

The Sufi movement crystalized into a series of "orders" (*silsilas,* lit. "chains"), which formed around a number of charismatic Sufi leaders in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. [32] The concept of master-disciple relationship was the basis for the *silsila,* which stretched back as a line of transmission all the way to the Prophet Muhammad*. The most widely known orders include the Qadiriyya*, named after `Abd al-Qadir* al-Jilani* of Baghdad (d. 1166), the Kubrawiyya, after Najm al-Din* Kubra* of central Asia (d. 1220), the Suhrawardiyya, after the Iranian Abu* Najib* al-Suhrawardi* (d. 1168), and the Shadhiliyya*, after the North African Abu* al-Hasan* al-Shadhili* (d. 1258). Special rituals of initiation developed, frequently involving the use of a patched garment (*khirqa*) of a distinctive blue color, and headgear. The authority of the master as spiritual director of the disciple became all-important.[33] Sufi centers throughout the Islamic world provided hospitality for travelers and disseminated Sufi practices. In the fourteenth century, Ibn Battuta*, the great world traveler, visited a Sufi center in Spain filled with dervishes from Iran and Hindustan, and observed that it was conducted exactly along the lines of *khanqahs** in those distant eastern countries.[34]

The Sufi orders and their material establishments were a part of the larger Islamic society in which they lived, and their fortunes were often tied to the vicissitudes of the political arena. The social manifestation of the Sufi orders was in part a response to the void created by the erosion of the caliphate as a meaningful center of legitimate authority in the Islamic ecumene. After 945, when the Buyid* princes, an Iranian Shi`i* dynasty, seized control of the central lands, the caliph was robbed of most of his temporal power and was reduced to figurehead status. The sultanate as a distinct political entity emerged slowly, starting from obscure families of empire-builders (such as the Ghaznavids of Afghanistan) and ending as a widespread monarchical type of organization with close ties to the Islamic religious classes. Jurists reluctantly granted the title *sultan* allah**, originally meaning "power of God," to upstart rulers whose only claim to legitimacy was the sword. The political theorist al-Mawardi* invented the term "amirate by seizure" to give a semilegal status to governments derived, not from succession to the Prophet of Islam, but from victories gained by adventurous clans of Iranian or Turkish origin. When the Seljuk Turks established their supremacy in the late eleventh century, they sought to strengthen their tenuous legitimacy by extensive patronage of Islamic religious institutions.

It is from this period that the classical institution of the *madrasa,* or Islamic college, derives, under the patronage of the great Seljuk wazir* Nizam* al-Mulk. And it is also during this time that the Seljuk rulers began cultivating eminent Sufi masters to gain both spiritual and political support. It is quite likely that the Seljuk-Sufi alliance was also designed to make political inroads on the Isma`ili* Shi`i* movement (the Assassins of Syria and Iran, and the Fatimid rulers of Egypt), by making available on a wide scale the Sunni-

minded interiorization of Islam. At the same time, Sufi orders began to form links with *futuwwa* men's clubs and craft guilds, and in this way helped to articulate a religious vision for the nonroyal strata of society.

Sufis responded cautiously and even suspiciously to the overtures of the sultans, and their attitude toward royal sponsorship varied considerably. On the one hand, some Sufis sought to influence the sultanate to make it genuinely Islamic in character, but others on the other hand opposed the injustice of the kings and tried to avoid having any contact with rulers whose wealth was illegally extorted from the people. (Of course there were also plenty of greedy dervishes who were happy to live on the largesse of kings, as Sa`di's * *Gulistan** shows so well.) Nizam* al-Mulk founded many *khanqahs**, and donated large sums to the Sufi orders.[35] Likewise he appointed the famous theologian Abu* Hamid* al-Ghazali* as a professor in the Nizamiyya* Madrasa in Baghdad, and even after he left the post to pursue Sufism, Ghazali* returned to teach in a Seljuk madrasa in Tus. Another Seljuk wazir, Abu* al-Qasim* Darguzini*, cultivated the company of the Sufi poet Sana'i*, who addressed several letters and poems to the wazir.

These early associations between Sufis and sultans later broadened into extensive cooperation. Shaykh Shihab* al-Din* al-Suhrawardi* dedicated his classic Sufi work, the *`Awarif* al-ma`arif** (*The givens of knowledge*), to the reigning caliph al-Nasir*, who tried to revive the power of the caliphate with the aid of Sufi and *futuwwa* orders. The Suhrawardi* shaykhs in general never accepted the idea of revolt against any king, no matter how unjust.[36] In the thirteenth century, Najm al-Din* Razi* addressed his treatise on Sufism, the *Mirsad* al-`Ibad** (*The path of devotees*), to the Seljuk ruler of Rum, and placed obedience to the king on a par with obedience to God and his prophet, citing the Qur'anic* passage "Obey God, obey the prophet, and those who have authority among you.[37] In Ottoman lands the Mevlevi* order in particular, and also the Bektashi* to some extent, had close alliances with the ruling power. In medieval Hindustan the Suhrawardi* order especially continued the tradition of trying to influence kings for the better. One of their objectives was to intercede with the kings on behalf of the people, and they also were willing to accept positions of employment as Shaykh al-Islam*, representing the religious classes in the bureaucracy.[38] During the Mughul period, the Naqshbandi* order, which had a strong tradition of association with kings in central Asia, became prominent in political affairs; Shaykh Ahmad* Sirhindi* sought to change Mughul religious policies, Shah Wali* Allah* invited the Afghan king Ahmad* Shah* to invade India and fight the Marathas, and later Sayyid Ahmad* Shahid* led militant activists against the Sikhs.

Sufi criticism of unjust kingship derives from the strong tradition of pious opposition led by *hadith** scholars and conservative legal circles from a very early date. Sufis were, for instance, to be found among those who attacked the caliph's palace and smashed the jars of unlawful wine that often found their

way to the royal table. In ninth-century Baghdad, Abu al-Husayn * Nuri* once saw a shipment of suspicious-looking jars being carted into the palace, and at once began smashing them as offences against the law of God (the caliph sent him off in exile for his pains). Similar incidents of Sufis leading attacks on vice are recorded down through the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in Mamluk Damascus.[39]

Another form of resistance against royal injustice was the Sufis' criticism of the illegal methods used by kings to amass wealth, and their consequent refusal to accept gifts and endowments except under the most stringent conditions. Ghazali*, for example, devotes three chapters of his encyclopedic "Revival of Religious Sciences" to examining the legitimacy of gifts from kings, and emphatically prohibited accepting many kinds of gifts.[40] Although Ghazali* appears to have violated this principle in his own academic career, Sufi tradition maintains that he have vowed toward the end of his life never again to accept any money from kings.[41] In Hindustan, the Chishti* order is best known for its consistent refusal to ask kings for financial support. As one Persian verse states, "How long will you go to the door of prince and sultan? This is nothing but going to the foot of Satan."[42] The tension between accommodation and resistance to royal authority by Sufis will find expression in the conflicting historiographies employed by court historians and hagiographers.

Despite the wide variation in Sufi attitudes toward kings, a fairly consistent pattern of royal patronage of Sufi institutions emerged throughout the Muslim East. Sultans set up charitable trusts (*awqaf**) as endowments for *khanqahs** or hospices, which, particularly in Egypt, Syria, and Iraq, were likely to be splendid and well-equipped residences with spacious individual quarters. Though rarely themselves of a mystical temperament, kings often specified that their tombs be attached to Sufi tomb shrines and lodges, much like the royal abbeys of Christian Europe. In this way they could borrow sanctity from the tombs of Sufi saints nearby, while benefitting from the blessings of prayers and Qur'an* recitations that were underwritten by royal grants.[43] The technical form taken by these grants was a benefice (*in`am**) deriving from a land tax collected directly by the recipient without going through the state treasury. This form of revenue assignment (*iqta'**), originally developed to pay armies in lieu of salary, was standardized by the Buyids* and, from the time of the Seljuks, was the most common way of making religious endowments.[44] The Turkish sultans of Delhi as well as the Mughuls regarded the administration of such endowments as a major function of government.[45] Though many of the Indian Sufi centers were modest and self-sustaining (particularly among the Chishtis*), in Syria and Egypt the *khanqahs** tended to be large establishments, most of which received their suport from amirs* and the king.[46] As early as the eleventh century, the conservative Hanbali* scholar Ibn al-Jawzi* had noted the luxurious way of life observed in some Sufi establishments, where food, drink, singing, and dancing were of more impor-

tance than Islamic scholarship and piety. "They ask every tyrant for the world," he observed, "and do not scruple about the gift of the tax-collector. And most of their hospices are built by tyrants who endow them with ill-gotten wealth." To Ibn al-Jawzi *, this seemed a far cry indeed from the seriousness and asceticism of the early Sufi movement.[47]

Just as Sufis had to establish relationships with the kings, so they also played a definite role with the populace. A great Sufi master after death became in some ways more influential than in life. The saint's tomb became the center of rituals of pilgrimage both for Sufi disciples and for the general public, though the aims of the two groups generally differed; the Sufis sought spiritual guidance from the departed saint, while ordinary folk typically asked for help with the problems of everyday life.[48] The Islamic laws of inheritance tended to encourage the creation of a hereditary establishment, since the sons of a saint would usually inherit the property and would be entrusted with the care of the saint's tomb. The descendants of saints would carry some of the charisma of their ancestors, regardless of whether they possessed any spiritual qualifications themselves. So while the intensive training of Sufis continued as before, with the growth of the Sufi orders a great many people became peripherally involved with Sufi shrines as an institutional form. Miracles, healing, and various kinds of assistance in matters both occult and ordinary were the standard features of this approach to Sufism, and from time to time it involved practices of which the stricter jurists disapproved, such as music, prostration, and excessive reverence for saints both living and dead.[49]

Parallel to the main Sufi movement and closely related to it were some manifestations of mysticism that were defiant of social convention. An early branch of Sufism was the path of "self-blamers" (*malamatiyya*), who humbled their egos by deliberately incurring society's reproaches through objectionable behavior. Such behavior was only intended to outrage, and did not include actually breaking Islamic law.[50] Yet there were others, particularly the freewheeling *qalandars,* who resembled dropouts rather than ascetics, and who were known more for irreverence and bizarre behavior than for their observance of religious proprieties.

By the thirteenth century, the Sufi movement was very broad. It built upon the individual contributions of loosely associated ascetics and mystics of early Islam and constructed from them a series of discrete hierarchical organizations extending throughout the Islamic world, undisturbed by political borders. As Marshall Hodgson observed regarding the growth of medieval Sufi orders, "a tradition of intensive interiorization re-exteriorized its results and was finally able to provide an important basis for social order."[51] Sufism functioned as a typical part of Islamic society, and its social extension inevitably had to find some kind of modus vivendi with the ruling power, whether in collaboration or in opposition. This is the background that stood behind the Sufis of medieval India.

2
Historiographies of Islam in India

The Problem of Nationalist Historiography

Those who deny the significance of historiography are most likely to be at the mercy of their own presuppositions. Historiography, or the narrative interpretation of historical data, lies at the core of our knowledge of the past. Isolated "fact" is a myth of nineteenth-century positivism. Modem historians of medieval India, whether British or Indian, have tended to focus on medieval historical chronicles from an exclusively political point of view, treating these works as "sources" and "authorities" from which history may be constructed by the "cut and paste" method. [52] For any appreciation of the religious dimension of medieval India, or any other civilization, it is necessary to go beyond this "factual" approach. The religious element in human life is based upon awareness of the divine-human intersection, which may then be expressed in art, story, social structure, gesture, or ritual. Intentions and contexts are essential parts of religious meaning, just as genres or "kinds" of writing are appropriate divisions in the study of literature.

In considering a civilization such as medieval India, in which religious perceptions played an important role, it is necessary to examine the sources critically, in terms of their professed objectives, interests, and contexts. Chronicles, epics, hagiographies, dramas, inscriptions, and poems may all treat the same subjects and persons, but with widely varying purposes and points of view. Our purpose is not to sift through the sources to establish an "objective" historical account of the Sufis of Khuldabad, but to establish as far as possible the historiographical positions of each source, the main interpretive stances that governed the narrations of history.

For the past century and a half, the writing of Indian history has been dominated by contemporary political concerns, beginning with the British attempt to justify their colonial role over India. The great monument of the

British study of Indian history is Sir H. M. Elliot's massive collection of extracts from Arabic and Persian sources. [53] While lopsided in its selections and containing frequent mistakes, "Elliot and Dowson" is still a valuable resource.[54] Nonetheless, Elliot presented a peculiarly jaundiced view of India's past. In his view, the medieval historians of India scarcely deserved the name, since they presented:

> Nothing but a mere dry narration of events, conducted with reference to chronological sequence, never grouped philosophically according to their relations. Without speculation on causes or effects; without a reflection or suggestion which is not of the most puerile and contemptible kind; and without any observations calculated to interrupt the monotony of successive conspiracies, revolts, intrigues, murders, and fratricides, so common in Asiatic monarchies, and to which unhappily India forms no exception.[55]

Elliot's lengthy diatribe on the lamentable deficiencies of the Indian historians (whether Muslim or Hindu) culminates, however, in his oft-quoted assessment of the one major benefit that these histories still hold:

> They will make our native subjects more sensible of the immense advantages accruing to them under the mildness and equity of our rule .... We should no longer hear bombastic Báabús, enjoying under our Government the highest degree of personal liberty, and many more political privileges than were ever conceded to a conquered nation, rant about patriotism, and the degradation of their present position. If they would dive into any of the volumes mentioned herein, it would take these young Brutuses and Phocions a very short time to learn, that in the days of that dark period for whose return they sigh, even the bare utterance of their ridiculous fantasies would have been attended, not with silence and contempt, but with the severer discipline of molten lead or empalement.[56]

As a result of this line of thinking, Elliot's collection tended to focus on selections that would demonstrate the evils of the medieval Indian period, focusing almost exclusively on political chronicles as the essence of history.[57]

The main distorting presupposition in Indian historical thinking today reads the medieval past in terms of modern religious nationalism. In this view, historical events are implicitly seen as prefiguring the partition of British India into an Islamic Republic of Pakistan and an overwhelmingly Hindu Indian Union.[58] The modern creed of nationalism, born of the French revolution, has effectively converted the world; it requires an effort to realize that the modern concept of ethnic and linguistic nationality did not exist prior to the nineteenth century.[59] In general, though, it is often assumed that the conflict between

Hinduism and Islam (construed as political entities) is one of the eternal verities. Although there are many notable critics of this kind of ideological historiography among south Asian historians, the tendency toward nationalism, especially in popular literature and journalism, is nonetheless widespread enough to require an analytical treatment here. Partisan accounts of medieval battles, in which modem authors blatantly champion their own side against the enemy, are still encountered in south Asian historical writing. To give examples: some Hindu historians decry the "Muslim" invasions (with the stress on religious identity) as the savage onslaught of creel barbarians and fanatics, whose delight in destroying temples was only exceeded by their love of violence against persons; certain Muslim authors in contrast view the Islamic conquests in India as the liberating force of a democratic and universal faith, which freed the oppressed from the shackles of the Hindu caste system. [60] Modem writers, following to some extent the depictions of medieval epics, have seized upon certain historical figures as heroes and villains of a drama that has finally culminated in modem times. These examples of historiomachy are only slightly exaggerated summaries of positions that are familiar to every student of Indian history.[61]

The terms of the historiomachy are simple. Outstanding historical figures are labelled as heroes by one side, and as villains by the other. To take one example: Mahmud* of Ghazna's invasions of India, though primarily a series of looting expeditions, have loomed in the modem Hindu consciousness as a national catastrophe. As one prominent Hindu historian has written:

> The most crucial age in Indian history began in A. D. 998, when the Turkish conqueror, Mahmud*, captured Ghazni .... No code circumscribed the destructive zeal of the conqueror; no canon restrained the ruthlessness of their hordes. When, therefore, Mahmud's* armies swept over North India it saw torrents of barbarians sweeping across its rich plains, burning, looting, indulging in indiscriminate massacre; raping women, destroying fair cities, burning down magnificent shrines enriched by centuries of faith; enforcing an alien religion at the point of sword.[62]

The undoubtedly destructive effect of Mahmud's* armies has here taken on an apocalyptic tone, which has become a typical element in the formation of the modem Hindu consciousness; Mahmud* is now associated in the Indian mind with the destruction of temples and enforced conversion to Islam. Yet attention to sources from Mahmud's* own time shows that his raids on temples were motivated more by lust for gold, slaves, and jewels than by intolerance of idolatry. Mahmud* did not even attempt to convert his large contingent of Indian soldiery to Islam, much less the masses of northern India; his Indian campaigns occupy only a small fraction of the court histories that record his

exploits. [63] Although Mahmud* and his court historians did attempt to legitimate his regime and conquests in the name of Islam, it was not because of personal piety or fanaticism. Mahmud's* only religiously based expedition was to wipe out the Isma`ili* heretics of Multan, but here too, loot was an underlying motive. As C. E. Bosworth has observed, "in some ways, the absence of a motive of burning religious zeal makes his cold-blooded manipulation of religion for pure reasons of state all the less excusable."[64] Still, seeing Mahmud's* invasions as an Islamic victory over Hinduism has caused much anguished soul-searching over the causes of the Hindu defeat, and the failure of the Hindu kings to unite against the enemy.[65] In Islamicate literature, on the other hand, Mahmud* of Ghazna became a larger-than-life figure who was idolized by poets and litterateurs for generations.[66] Similarly polarized opinions can be found regarding all the prominent figures of Indo-Muslim history, especially Akbar, Ahmad* Sirhindi*, Dara* Shikuh*, and Awrangzib*, whose religious views are variously categorized and judged (from a modern perspective) as secular, orthodox, fanatic, or apostate.

Some of the most extreme ideological portrayals of Indian history at the same time are the loudest in claiming to rely on objective "facts" that are ignored by their opponents. The language and rhetoric of positivism is most often invoked (perhaps unconsciously) when ideology is most nakedly displayed. One needs especially to be on guard when a historian, with unintended irony, recommends Ranke's positivist injunction to history, "to show what actually happened", this is usually a sign that some particularly disingenuous judgments are about to be unleashed.[67]

Modern Indian nationalism began precisely as a reaction against the condescension toward Indian culture exhibited by the colonial regime, but it ended by creating triumphalist historiographies glorifying Islam or Hinduism. Nationalist writers and politicians seized upon the images of the past that were most useful for state formation. This meant drawing upon either the Muslim court histories or the Hindu epic and puranic traditions for images that could be adapted to the exigencies of the modern situation. The practical political goals of nationalist historiography have politicized medieval texts in a manner that is foreign to their original political context.

The picture changes dramatically if we repoliticize the medieval sources in their own terms. What emerges is not a nationalistic and religious concept of identity, but a variety of ethnic ones, based on common Indian and Islamic cosmologies. There are consequently many medieval historiographies of Islam in India, few of which have any direct bearing on modern concepts of religious nationalism. The modern symbols of nationalist ideologies belong to that class of secondary and tertiary symbols that have come to clutter up the realm of public discourse to such an extent that the scholar can sometimes be most useful in helping to clear them away.[68] The sections immediately follow-

ing are tentative sketches intended to reveal the multiplicity of historiographic approaches underlying the apparently monolithic Islamic and Indian perspectives on Islam in India.

Medieval Islamic Views of India

Arab lore on India certainly goes back to pre-Islamic times, since trade has been carried out on the monsoon winds across the Arabian Sea for many centuries. References to Indian religion are generally scanty in Arabic sources, and must be sifted out from writings of widely differing types. [69] The earliest Arabic literature on India dates from the expeditions that culminated in the Arab conquest of the Indus valley region in 711-712. al-Baladhuri's* Arabic chronicle of conquests treated India in the context of the massive expansion of Arab power in the first Islamic century. Other Arabic sources, preserved in Persian translation, expand on the account of the Arab conquest, and describe how the Arab governor Muhammad* ibn Qasim* exempted the local brahmans from the poll tax (*jizya*) on non-Muslims and confirmed the existing nobility in their positions.[70] Probably the most popular variety of writing about India, however, was the literature of the marvelous (Ar. *`aja'ib**), which mixed geographical lore with the tall tales of sailors. Legends about the wonders of the East had been popular literary fare in Hellenistic times, in the works of the Greek paradoxographers and the Latin compilation of Pliny.[71] Sandwiched between Sindbadlike adventure stories are occasional references to odd and bizarre religious behavior in India, such as ritual suicide, worship of idols, and the powers of magicians.[72] Scientific writers on world geography, such as the Persian Ibn Khurradadhbih* (d. 894) and the Sicilian Arab al-Idrisi* (ca. 1154), included learned accounts of the Indian topography with occasional references to religion; al-Idrisi* was impressed with the remarkable variety of Indian religions, which he (following Ibn Khurradadhbih*) numbered at forty-two, though he could not begin to describe them in full.[73] Islamic encyclopedic writings typically touched upon Indian religions by categorizing them as heresies, and the picture of Indian "heresies" that these sources provide is peculiar and far from accurate.[74]

In examining the early Arab accounts of India, an important terminological question must be raised: Why do the Arab authors never employ any term equivalent to "Hinduism"? To begin with, the term "Hindu" originated as the ancient Persian word for "river" (Sanskrit *sindhu*), above all the great river now known (through the Greek pronunciation) as the Indus; the term then became the outsider's geographical name for the region where the river flowed, hence the Greek word "India." In Arabic, *Hind* is the general term for the south Asian subcontinent. *Hindustan** in Persian refers to the northern plains of India. Only after the Turkish invasions of northern India in the

eleventh century did the term *hindu* * (with the pseudo-Arabic plural *hunud** or *ahanid**) emerge, not in Arabic but in modem Persian, initially as an ethnic term, and only later as a religious designation. From Persian, "Hindu" entered modem European languages by the seventeenth century, although the abstract term "Hinduism" does not occur before the nineteenth century.[75] The terms "Hindu" and "Hinduism," then, essentially represent foreigners' concepts of India; they do not correspond to any indigenous Indian concept, either of geography or religion. The lack of any Arabic term for "Hinduism" was, therefore, fairly accurate. The Arabs perceived a number of different religious communities (Arabic *milla* or *madhhab*) in India, with different customs and teachings; some of these were regarded as prophetic and monotheistic, compatible with Islamic beliefs, and others were not. So while we can speak of Arabic views of Indian religions, there was no early Arabic concept of Hinduism, as indeed there was no Indian concept of Hinduism.

The beginnings of the concept of "Hindu" religion are to be sought in the Persian literature of the Ghaznavid period, beginning about 990. The term "Hindu" still had a primarily geographic reference in Ghaznavid times, but the ethnic pride of the Turkish rulers of central Asia helped create an Indian ethnic stereotype in the Persian literature that Sultan Mahmud* sponsored at his court.[76] For the early classical Persian poets, "Hindu" referred primarily to the black complexion of the Indian, who became the poetic opposite of the light-skinned Turk. "Hindu" as an adjective described anything black, whether the beloved's tresses, a mole on the cheek, or the planet Saturn. The "Hindu" also was associated with slavery (in opposition to the Turkish ruler), and even became mythologized as the demonic resident of hell. In the Persian epic *Shah* nama** (*The book of kings*), which Mahmud* commissioned, Alexander the Great could still be portrayed as addressing a letter to the Indian king, beginning with an invocation of the creator, and this salutation: "Best of the Hindus, wise, knowing, and clear minded."[77] But in some of the panegyric poems addressed to Mahmud*, the sultan is hailed as the conqueror of "infidel India" (*hindustan-i* kafir**), so that India is identified as the land of the unbelievers.[78] Histories written during the Ghaznavid period also employ the rhetoric of holy war against infidels to describe the raids on India, but this rhetoric was a stock reconstruction by religious scholars to inflate the significance of routine military actions.[79] The traces of religious imperialism that are detectable during the time of Mahmud* are relatively slight; India does not even become a major object of conquest in epic literature until a hundred years after Mahmud*, when Raja* Jaypal* of the Panjab* figures as the principal opponent in the *Faramurz* nama**.[80] Here at any rate is the first clue to the religious concept of the Hindu, as an adjunct to the deeds of a conqueror.

We owe the more precise formulation of the concept of Hindu religion to the superb scientific analysis of Indian civilization by the Ghaznavid scholar al-Biruni* (d. 1048).[81] A model of learning and detachment, al-Biruni's* Arabic

study of India nevertheless stands as the first statement that clearly puts the Hindu in opposition to the Muslim in religious terms. Writing at the same time that Mahmud * of Ghazna and his successor Mas`ud* conducted their raids on northern India, al-Biruni* spent years studying Sanskrit with Indian pandits, and mastered the religious, philosophical, scientific, and geographical literatures of India. al-Biruni* was sympathetic but critical; he presented Indian doctrines as he found them in the Sanskrit texts, and compared them to the teachings of Greek philosophers and scientists. His book was designed "as a help to those who want to discuss religious questions with them [the Indians], and as a repertory of information to those who want to associate with them."[82] Despite his appreciation of Indian civilization, al-Biruni* could not help seeing it in opposition to the Islamic: "The Hindus entirely differ from us in every respect."[83] He described the differences between the two cultures in terms of language, Indian xenophobia, custom (especially exclusionary purity rules), and the bitter legacy of Arab and Turkish invasions. In his final analysis, from a Muslim point of view Hindus were "our religious antagonists."[84] Al-Biruni's* concentrated study of the Brahmanical learning of northern India had accustomed him to applying the Islamic concept of religion (*din**) to India.[85] He recognized that Indians had a very different religious attitude from Muslims, caring little for doctrinal controversy but zealously guarding their caste purity, but he was probably unaware of the novelty of his synthetic creation of the concept of Hindu religion. With al-Biruni*, Hindus become identified for the first time as a distinct religious group, precisely insofar as they are distinct from Muslims.

To trace the development of the concept of Hindu religion would require a lengthy investigation, which no one, to my knowledge, has yet attempted. To the brief summary just presented, which is based on well-known materials, I would add a tentative observation, that the crystalization of the term "Hindu" as a religious designation took place as a result of the Mongol invasions of Islamic countries. To reiterate: the connotations of "Hindu" in early Persian poetry were primarily ethnic; though the religious concept was present to some degree, the Hindu was always opposed to the Turk, not to the Muslim. Al-Biruni's* study, which established the theoretical opposition between Hindu and Muslim on religious terms, was a specialized work of scholarship and not widely read. Yet in Persian historical works written in India, especially after the Mongol invasions of the thirteenth century, the opposition of Hindu and Muslim (Persian *musulman**) becomes proverbial.[86]

What is the reason for the increasing stress on religious identity in post-Mongol India? The answer may be sought in the devastating consequences of the Mongol incursions. From a material and personal point of view, the attack of the Mongols on the great Islamic cities of central Asia was disastrous. But from a religious point of view, the most terrible result was the destruction of the central Islamic institution of the caliphate by an army of pagans. The first

great historian of the Delhi sultanate, Qazi * Minhaj-i* Siraj* (d. ca. 1270), reflects a widespread consensus of his time when he states that the Mongol invasions are the dreaded apocalyptic sign of the end of time, as foretold by the Prophet Muhammad*.[87] Writing just after Hulagu* Khan's* execution of the last `Abbasid* caliph in 1258, Minhaj-i* Siraj* concludes his history with that terrible event, but his portrayal of the Turkish sultans of Delhi makes it clear that he regards them as the saviors of Islam:[88]

> Notwithstanding that, by the will of the Almighty, and the decrees of Destiny, the turn of sovereignty passed unto the Chingiz* Khan*, the Accursed, and his descendants, after the kings of Iran and Turan, that the whole of the land of Turan and the East fell under the sway of the Mughals [Mongols], and that the authority of the Muhammadan* religion departed from those regions, which became the seat of paganism, *the kingdom of Hindustan**, by the grace of Almighty God, and the favour of fortune, under the shadow of the guardianship of the Shamsi* race, and the shade of the protection of the Iltutmishi* dynasty [i.e., the sultans of Delhi], *became the focus of the people of Islam, and orbit of the possessors of religion.*[89]

In this view, the extermination of the Islamic dynasties of the central and western Asian lands left India as the sole remaining bastion of Islamic civilization, and the Turkish sultan of Delhi became the last defender of the faith against the pagan Mongol threat. In short, India was the last haven for Islam.[90] Under these conditions, with the flood of Muslim refugees fleeing to India from the Mongol massacres, it is scarcely surprising that the attention of Indian Muslims turned to the alarming threat posed by another "pagan" population, within their own domain.[91] Although for Minhaj-i* Siraj*, the Mongols remained the infidels par excellence,[92] the aftermath of the Mongol invasions provided the conditions for creating a concept of Hindu religion, conceived of in opposition to Islam.

The formation of an Islamic concept of Hindu India, then, increasingly ascribed a religious identity to the Hindu, but it was a negative identity, formed under the pressure of political circumstances. As Peter Hardy has remarked, "the Hindus are not mentioned, for the most part, except as the passive material on which Muslims impose their will .... [The Hindus] are never interesting in themselves, but only as converts, as capitation tax-payers, or as corpses."[93] The most extravagant negative treatment of Hindus occurs in the triumphalist poetic epics of Amir* Khusraw (d. 1325), court poet to seven successive sultans of Delhi. Describing the Khalji* sultan's conquest of the Indian Deccan, Khusraw writes:

> There were many capitals of the *devs* (meaning Hindu gods *or* demons) where Satanism had prospered from the earliest times, and where far from the pale of Islam, the Devil in the course of ages had

> hatched his eggs and made his worship compulsory on the followers of the idols; but now with a sincere motive the Emperor removed these symbols of infidelity... to dispel the contamination of false belief from those places through the muezzin's call and the establishment of prayers. [94]

This display of literary skill depicts Hindus only as mythical incarnations of evil, a foil for the implausibly righteous conquests of a disinterested ruler. In the works of Khusraw as in the court histories, "whatever happens is brought under the categories of Muslim thought whether or not religion is an element in the situation."[95] Likewise `Isami's* epic poem *Futuh* al-salatin** (*The conquests of the sultans,* 1350) treats Islam in India not as a religion but as the triumph of Muslim kings over hapless Hindus, using Firdawsi's* *Shah* nama** as a literary model.[96] Finally, the court historian Barani* reveals the extremes of prejudice in his work on political theory, *Fatawa-i* jahandari** (*The institutes of worm empire,* ca. 1357). According to Barani*, religious repression of Hindus has been the cornerstone of Turkish rule in India since the time of Mahmud* of Ghazna; Barani* even claimed that the Prophet Muhammad* himself commanded that Hindus should be killed and enslaved whenever possible, since they were the worst enemies of Islam.[97] Although this spiteful and anachronistic attitude may be explained as the result of Turkish racism and Barani's* personal resentment against Hindu courtiers, the virulent perception of Hindus as the opponents of Islam was a perceptible element in the climate of opinion in fourteenth-century Delhi. The shrill tone of Barani's* exhortations to militancy against Hindus may also be taken as a sign of the extent to which the sultans felt free to ignore anti-Hindu ranting.[98] In any case, the negative concept of the Hindu as anti-Islamic clearly emanated from the poets and historians who formulated the imperialist ideology of the Delhi sultanate.

Perhaps the fullest dramatic development of the Islamic conquest of "infidel" India is a work that takes the form of a religious martyrology, the *Mir'at-i* Mas`udi** (*The mirror of Mas`ud*). Written by a Sufi named 'Abd al-Rahman* Chishti* (d. 1655), ostensibly on the basis of a work dating from the Ghaznavid period, this book is a romance depicting the valiant life and death of Salar* Mas`ud*, "the Prince of the Martyrs."[99] Inspired by a visitation of the spirit of the deceased martyr, 'Abd al-Rahman* Chishti* described Salar* Mas`ud's* exploits in the service of Sultan Mahmud* of Ghazna against the heathen foes. The martyr initially escapes poisoning by refusing food from a treacherous Hindu host: "The Prophets... never eat food prepared in the house of a Hindu, nor will I," says Salar* Mas`ud*.[100] The story portrays Sultan Mahmud* as a dedicated opponent of idolatry who exults in the destruction of temples; he "laid down the image of Somnát at the threshold of the Mosque of Ghazní, so that the Musulmáns might tread upon the breast of the idol on their way to and from their devotions."[101] The culmination of the story comes when Salar*

Mas`ud * determines to destroy a temple of the sun in the town of Bahraich. "Here will I often come, till the crowds of unbelievers, and the darkness of unbelief, be removed from hence. Until this place be cleansed from idolatry, it is impossible for the faith of Islám to spread in the land of India."[102] After titanic struggles with vast Hindu armies, the hero dies tragically, on June 14, 1033. Despite the intrinsically improbable nature of the story, this kind of martyrology has had a wide acceptance. Ironically, the shrine of Salar* Mas`ud* is greatly revered among Hindus, who celebrate the anniversary of his martyrdom according to the Hindu calendar with rituals of obviously Hindu origin.[103] As I have discussed elsewhere, martyrology as a literary form became increasingly popular among Indian Muslims from the seventeenth century onward. Sufi writers, including 'Abd al-Rahman* Chishti*, expanded the stories of Sufi martyrs in their hagiographies.[104] The association of religious martyrs with sultans was natural in this kind of edifying literature, but it could also play into the political ambitions of rulers who wished to identify their expansionism with holy warfare.

In contrast to the secular literature of poetry and history, the Islamic religious law (*shari`a**) had very little to say about Indian religions, and so no Islamic religious concept of the Hindu could be said to exist. The Qur'an* makes frequent reference to Jews and Christians, but not to any adherents of Indian religions. The Arab conquest of Iran had exposed Muslims to the Zoroastrian community, which they generally treated along the same lines as the Christian and Jewish *dhimmis** (legally protected religious minorities). Yet the Islamic legal texts written in India contain surprisingly few references to Indian religions. Most of the Indian lawbooks are based on works of the Hanafi* legal scholars of Samarqand and Bukhara written two or three centuries earlier; therefore they incongruously retain judgments covering the subject of Muslim interaction with Zoroastrians, Christians, and Jews, which can scarcely have had any relevance in northern India.[105] A typical judgment forbids Muslims to wear the Zoroastrian headgear (*kulah-i* mughan**), belt (*zunnar**), or Jewish hat (*qalansuwa*).[106] Rarely, Indian Muslim legists made analogies between Zoroastrian or Christian practices to forbid Muslims from participating in Indian religious festivals:

> If on the day of the feast of the Hindus (*`id-i* hinduwan**) one is present in approval of them or frolics with them, is happy on that account, and gives them some gift, Abu* Hafs* Kabir* (God's mercy upon him) has maintained that if a man has performed fifty years of worship of God, and, when their New Year (*nawruz**) comes, sends a gift to the infidels for the glorification of that day, even if it is only an egg, all of his worship of fifty years is in vain.[107]

The example given is a hybrid one, based on the Zoroastrian New Year festival and the Christian use of Easter eggs (which Muslim jurists in Egypt

had condemned); its presence in an Indian legal work is simply a sign of the conservative nature of the legal tradition. To the extent that they noticed Hindu religious practices at all, Muslim legal scholars simply classified them in the negative category of *dhimmi* * ("non-Muslim") or *kafir** ("infidel"). Since Islamic law did not distinguish between Christian, Jew, Zoroastrian, and Hindu, we cannot point to any distinctive Islamic concept of Hinduism from a religious point of view.

Despite the negative concept of the Hindu that developed variously in poetic, political, and legal contexts, it must not be forgotten that India occupied a special position in the medieval Islamic cosmos. A number of early *hadith** reports of the Prophet refer to the conquest of India in an apocalyptic tone, equating the warriors who attack India and those who will fight the Antichrist at the end of time.[108] The participants in the first Arab expeditions against India may well have had these traditions in mind. A host of other stories attempt to show that even during the lifetime of the Prophet, south Indian kings influenced by the miracle of the splitting of the moon converted to Islam.[109] Also popular is the legend of the Indian merchant Ratan Sen, who is said to have served Muhammad* at Medina, and being blessed with miraculous longevity, for the next six hundred years continued to relate *hadith** that he had heard personally from the Prophet.[110] Contemporary Urdu writers have collected a multitude of details concerning the relationships between India and Arabia during the early Islamic period. According to one traditional Indian Muslim scholar, "In the eastern Islamic world, India is that fortunate land which, in the very age of the Prophet had, to a great extent, become acquainted and familiar with Islam. Its portion of devotees so built the Islamic realm (*dar** *al-islam**) that today also in that land Islam and the Muslims are living and established with all their religious and intellectual distinctness and particularity."[111]

The most remarkable legendary accounts in *hadith** reports attributed to the Prophet Muhammad* relate that India (more precisely, Ceylon) was the site of Adam's descent to earth after his expulsion from paradise. On the mountaintop in Sri Lanka called Adam's Peak, pilgrims of different religions still pay homage to the massive footprint variously ascribed to Adam, Shiva, or the Buddha. While modernists may dismiss such reports as legendary, one should not underestimate the power of myth as a major element in the formation of worldview. The first to give notable literary expression to these stories in India was Amir* Khusraw, who refers repeatedly to Adam's descent to India, in his seven poetical arguments demonstrating that India is indeed paradise on earth.[112] Azad* Bilgrami*, the hagiographer of Khuldabad, has summarized the symbolic significance of Adam's descent to Ceylon in a remarkable Arabic treatise, *Subhat** *al-marjan** *fi** *athar** *Hindustan** (*The coral rosary of Indian antiquities*), which he completed in 1764. It is a work in four parts, dealing with the references to India in the sayings of the Prophet Muhammad*, biographies of eminent Indian Muslim scholars, rhetoric in Arabic and Sanskrit, and

love poetry in the Islamic and Hindu traditions. From the numerous accounts that he culled from many literary sources (e.g., al-Ghazali *, al-Suyuti*), Azad* concluded that Adam's peak is the second holiest place on earth next to Mecca; India was the site of the first revelation, the first mosque on earth, and the place from which pilgrimage was first performed.[113] Using the Sufi concept of Muhammad's* primordial prophetic nature, Azad* described India as the place where the eternal light of Muhammad* first manifested in Adam, while Arabia is where it found its final expression in the physical form of the Prophet.[114] The black stone of Mecca descended with Adam, the staff of Moses grew from a myrtle that Adam planted on the peak, and all perfumes and craft tools derive from Adam's descent to India.[115] The modern editor of Azad's* work dismisses these traditions as unreliable in terms of *hadith** criticism, due to their weak sources and transmitters; they are, moreover, "semi-historical, based on legends."[116]

While these objections to Azad's* collection of *hadith** are perhaps valid from a strictly textual point of view, they fail to explain the mythical significance of Azad's* portrait of a sacred Islamic land of India. Azad* was perfectly aware of the strictures of *hadith** criticism about unreliable reporters. He had studied *hadith** in Medina with the celebrated Indian scholar Muhammad* Hayat* al-Sindi*, who trained an entire generation of scholars and sufis in the study of *hadith**.[117] Azad's* purpose in writing his *Coral Rosary* was not, however, to write a standard work of *hadith**; he wanted instead to describe "the land of Hind, which [God] made the realm of vicegerency [*dar** *al-khilafa**] and singled out with this distinction."[118] Since it was in India that Adam first exercised the authority that God gave humanity over the earth, it has the unique status of being the first place on earth where human vicegerency (*khilafa**, also "caliphate") was established. From another innocent statement carefully placed at the beginning of the second (biographical) portion of his book, it appears that Azad* was concerned to show that India was in all ways closely linked to the essence of the Islamic faith. The earliest figure he picked for his lives of Indian Muslim scholars was Rabi`* ibn Sabih* al-Sa`di* (d. 776-777), whom he casually describes as "the first one to write [books] in Islam."[119] This statement audaciously places the beginning of Islamic scholarship in India. While not insisting on the factual veracity of these stories, Azad* treated them as appropriate symbolic vehicles for making India central in the Islamic cosmos. In this perspective, India is no longer the hostile frontier of paganism; India plays an essential role in the drama of Islam.

Medieval Indian Views of Islam

What were the attitudes of Indians toward Islam and the Muslims? This apparently simple question is complicated by the apparent absence of any concept of Islamic religion in Indian sources. Brahmanic authorities writing in

Sanskrit, whether discussing Hindu law (*dharmasastra* *) or philosophy, continued to carry out polemics against Buddhists long after they ceased to be an effective force in India, but the Sanskrit tradition has never taken official notice of the existence of Islam.[120] Nor is there any tradition of historical writing in India (except for the Kashmir chronicle), comparable to the dynastic chronicles of the Islamic and European historians, to which one might look for systematic reflections on the Islamic presence in India.[121] The concept of an exclusive confessional religious community was basically unknown in India before Muslims arrived. As W. C. Smith has observed, "Never before, however, had an organized, systematic, and exclusive community carrying (or being carried by) what was in theory an organized, systematic and exclusive idea arrived violently from the outside to reject all alternatives and to erect a great conceptual wall between those who did and those who did not belong."[122] It was long before Indians would entertain the notion of Islam as a separate religion, and longer still before they adopted the even more abstract European concept of "Hinduism." To piece together a comprehensive picture of the Indian perceptions of Islam would require the labors of many specialized Indologists, and would require a survey of many inscriptions and literary texts in a variety of languages; this has not been done, as far as I know.

In the absence of any full study of Indian concepts of Islam, the following brief overview (with special attention to the Deccan region) will suggest some of the main lines along which Indian perceptions of the Islamic presence developed. Like the Islamic concepts of the Hindu, Indian concepts of Islam were forged in the heat of conflict, and reflect the impact of the imperial expansion of the Turkish regime in India. Indians initially conceived of Turks and other invaders in ethnic terms, and later on, when the Turks were domiciled in India, as a separate caste within the Indian social order. Indian resentment at the destruction of temples found dramatic expression in epic poetry, but Indians for long resisted the concept of religious exclusivism that Islam introduced, but which would eventually triumph in the self-consciousness of modem "Hinduism."

Epigraphic sources almost unanimously describe the invaders of northern India in ethnic or geographic terms. Early Sanskrit inscriptions refer to *Tajikas** or Arabs (738), *Valaca* or Baluch (ca. 735), and *Turuskas** or Turks (ca. 835); the latter term is sometimes used as a vague place name. The foreigners also come under the ancient terms *Yavana* (815), originally meaning "Greek" (from Ionia), and *Saka** or Scythian (1316), though they are more frequently referred to as *mleccha* (852), the Sanskrit equivalent of "barbarian."[123] These terms are also found in regional languages in exactly the same style; as an example, a royal inscription in Kannada from the Belgaum district in southern India, dated 1223-24, refers to the king of "Turuska*" in a list of more than a dozen kings of different regions of India.[124] A Tibetan pilgrim's memoir in

1234-36 likewise referred to the depradations of Turuska * soldiers in Bihar.[125] Turkish rulers were called by the name Hammira*, from the Arabic title *amir**, "commander, ruler." Since the royal inscriptions were mainly concerned with recording the exploits of Indian kings, it was natural that they refer primarily to military foes; the theological background of the Turks was of no interest to their Indian opponents on the battlefield.

Sanskrit epic literature dealing with the Turkish invasions makes few references to religion. In the thirteenth century, Vastupala, the minister to the Vaghela ruler of Gujarat, inspired three epic poems in Sanskrit that contain some references to battles with Turkish forces. Another Sanskrit epic, the *Prithviraja* Vijaya* of Jayanaka* (ca. 1178-1200), chronicles the life of the last Hindu king of Delhi, Prithviraj*.[126] The focus of these works was heroic and military; religion was not an issue, except insofar as the Turks violated the purity of sacred lakes and disrupted the traditional royal patronage of temples and brahmans.[127] For Jayanaka*, the Turks were simply demonic, "fiends in the shape of men."[128] A Sanskrit drama sponsored by the son of Vastupala depicted a Turkish invasion being defeated by spies, using standard dramatic plot twists that had been employed for centuries.[129] Literary devices took priority over historical circumstance in this kind of conventional writing.

Particularly in the vernacular Indian languages, epic literature has continued to portray the heroic struggles of Rajput princes against the Turks. The Hindi *Prithvi* Raj* Raso** attributed to Prithviraj's* minister Chand* Bardai was successively reworked by different bards, and summarizes generations of reflection on the significance of the king's defeat. "Its anti-Muslim epic-content goes far beyond the tragic situation of a single historical event, and weaves around it an accumulated arena of heroic resistance spreading over several centuries and anachronistically telescoping within the time and space of Ghurid* invasions the eponymous representatives of later ethnic groups of Muslim invaders."[130] Like the tales of Mahmud* of Ghazna in Persian literature, the Indian stories of Prithviraj* became the focus of intensely romantic, not religious, sentiment.[131] In a similar way the fifteenth-century legend of Raja* Hammir* Dev and his fight against Sultan `Ala'* al-Din* Khalji* (ca. 1300) sets forth the ideals of Rajput chivalry against the ruthless invaders, making an epic story of the unconquered resistance of the Rajputs; battles and exploits that occurred centuries apart are collapsed into a single anachronistic event in the Hammir* legend. Typical themes in the Hammir* cycle are the alliance of the Rajputs and the Mongols against the Delhi sultan and the humiliation of Muslim women.[132]

Perhaps the most remarkable of the Indian epics in Hindi was written by a Muslim: Malik Muhammad* Jayasi's* *Padmavat**, an allegorical retelling, from a Sufi point of view, of the Hammir* story, using all the elements of Indian religious mythology and literature. Written for a sophisticated audience familiar with Indian imagery, Jayasi's* poem is didactic and mystical rather than

epic and heroic. It shows the unsubstantial nature of the victory of `Ala' * al-Din* (illusion) over the fortress of Chitore (the body), after Padmavati* (intelligence) and Ratan Sen (the mind) escape on the funeral pyre. At the end of this Hindi poem, the phrase "Chitore became Islam" is simply an allegorical indication of the illusory nature of the world.[133] Yet historical Islam was not a topic for the vernacular Indian epics.

The very few known cases where Indians discussed the religion of Muslims suggest that Hindus regarded Islam as another form of worship of the supreme being, and they described it in terms derived from the Indian theological vocabulary. A Sanskrit inscription on the famous Qutb* Minar* in Delhi, dated 1368, records an Indian architect's repair of the tower for Sultan Firuz* Shah*. The invocation of the deity Visvakarma*, the divine architect of the universe, suggests that the architect was comfortable using a Sanskrit title for the deity of the Muslims. In a recent article, M. C. Joshi has challenged the original translation of the inscription, which was first published by Daya Ram Sahni over sixty years ago. Joshi writes:

> Sahni has translated the fourth and fifth line as "the restoration of the Minar* was carried out in the palace or temple of Visvakarman [*sic*]," which cannot be accepted for the reason that no Hindu architect would ever like to call a mosque or its attached Minar* as the temple of Visvakarman, the supreme deity of the Hindu Builder-community.[134]

Exactly why an Indian architect should refuse to call the God of Islam Visvakarma* is not clear, except that Joshi seems to regard it as impossible for a "Hindu" to see anything familiar in Islam. He therefore translates the line in question thus: "The work was completed by the grace of Shri Visvakarman," but this translation is problematic.[135]

Yet there is another instance suggesting that Indians did not find it at all strange to regard a mosque as a temple to a familiar deity. A Sanskrit inscription from Kathiawar dated 1264 records the dedication of a mosque by one Nur* al-Din* Firuz*, an Iranian sailor and trader from Hormuz. The opening invocation addresses the supreme being by the names Visvanatha* ("lord of the universe"), Sunyarupa* ("one whose form is of the void"), and Visvarupa* ("having various forms"). The next line records the date as "662 of the Rasula* Mahammada, the preceptor (*bodhaka**) of the sailors (*nau-jana*) devoted to Visvanatha*."[136] The explicit identification of the Muslim group as sailors who follow the Prophet (*rasul**) Muhammad* also gives the Sanskrit title "lord of the universe" to the god worshiped in the mosque. The Indians who helped Firuz* acquire the land from a temple and some shops were not Muslims, but regarded Firuz* as a "supporter of his faith" (*dharma-bhandava**).[137] In their view, it was entirely natural to think of a mosque as a place where a recognizable god was worshiped. According to architectural historian R. Nath, there was even a fifteenth-century Sanskrit text written in Gujarat for the guidance

of Indian architects employed to build mosques. In it, the god Visvakarma * says of the mosque, "There is no image (as idol-worship is prohibited) and there they worship, through dhyana* (contemplation), the formless, attribute-less, all-pervading Supreme God whom they call Rehamana* [i.e., Arabic *rahman**]."[138] It is only the modem politicized view of Hinduism, to which Joshi testifies, that cannot imagine Indians seeing Islam as a form of worship comparable to any other in India.

Even in dangerous political situations where one might suppose that Indians would be wary of the religion of the enemy, they continued to appreciate Islamic faith as compatible with their own. The last Hindu king of Gujarat, Karna Deva Vaghela*, though he suffered a devastating attack from Delhi in 1299, managed to survive for another decade until a second campaign from Delhi overcame him. A bilingual Persian-Sanskrit inscription of 1304 records how the Raja*, along with two Mongol officers (who had deserted Delhi for the Hindu king) and another Muslim official, endowed the revenue from a village for the upkeep of a mosque in Cambay.[139] Karna Deva's approval of the endowment to the mosque was simply the usual form of patronage that the kings extended to all types of religious centers, including temples of Shiva, Vishnu, and the goddess. The Raja* was perfectly happy to support the Islamic religion of some of his officials, but he clearly separated that element from the military threat of the Turks in Delhi.

The very terms "Islam" and "Muslim" are scarcely to be found in Indian sources before recent times, and when they do occur, it is within the distinctively Indian context of the caste system. In the Kathiawar mosque endowment mentioned above, the inscription also mentions that among the trustees of the mosque are the sailors, oilmen, limeburners, and "the Musalamanas* among the *patrapatis*." D. C. Sircar identifies the latter group as carriage drivers.[140] From an anthropological point of view, Musulamana* (the Sanskritized form of the Persian term *musulman**, from Arabic *muslim*) here probably designates the Muslim subset of a caste of drivers similar to modem *tangawalas**; it is not exactly a religious description, but a term for an endogamous kin-group (Sanskrit *jati**) that follows a particular profession. From an Indian point of view, "Musalamanas*" would be distinguished not primarily by their beliefs or rituals, but by their profession and by the subset of that kingroup within which they married. The three other professional groups mentioned in the inscription (sailors, oilmen, and limeburners) are not described as Muslims; caste was a more prominent indicator of status than religion as it is commonly understood today.

Several centuries later, the Rajput nobility's integration into the Mughul administration led to a comparable recognition of the Muslim elite as a subset of the Rajput caste:

> The traditions generally represent the Rajput* *jati** (caste) as being divided into two categories: Muslim (or Turk) and Hindu. This

> category of "Muslim" within the Rajput * *jati** did not include all Muslims, but only those who were warriors and who possessed sovereignty and power equal to or greater than the Hindu Rajput*. The Muslim Emperor in particular held a position of high rank and esteem, and the traditions often equate him with Ram*, the pre-eminent Ksatriya* cultural hero of the Hindu Rajput*.[141]

Equating "Muslim" with a section of the Rajput caste indicates how Indians consistently viewed Muslims in terms of their own social system, without any reference to the distinctive and exclusive aspects of Islamic theology.

The impact of the Islamic presence on the Maharashtran region is of special importance because of the dominant role of Maratha culture in the formation of modem Hindu identity. The Khalji* invasion of the Deccan in 1296 led to the overthrow of the ruling Yadava* dynasty in 1313, but reactions in Marathi literature were few. With the exception of the religious writings of the Mahanubhavas* and the Varkaris*, Marathi literature is said to have entered a "dark age" that lasted over two centuries, due to the end of traditional royal patronage.[142] Religious thinkers such as the Varkari* poet Namadeva* (d. 1350) lamented the destruction caused by the Yavana* (Turkish) kings. The Mahanubhavas*, who had been persecuted by the Hindu Rajas* of Deogir, saw the Turkish defeat of the Yadavas* as a divine punishment. But the first major literary reaction to the Muslims was in the writing of Eknath* (d. 1599), one of the great theologians of Hindu devotion (*bhakti**) and a supreme master of Marathi. He wrote a series of satirical dialogues in popular idiom as a way of expressing his teachings on the nature of God and the transcendence of caste through the path of devotion. One of these dialogues, the *Hindu-Turk* Samvad**, reveals the religious arguments that might typically have taken place between Hindus and Muslims in the sixteenth century, while at the same time arguing that both are fundamentally in search of the same divinity:

> The goal is one; the ways of worship are different.
> Listen to the dialogue between these two:
> The Turk calls the Hindu "Kafir!"
> The Hindu answers, "I will be polluted—get away!"
> A quarrel broke out between the two;
> A great controversy began.[143]

Like the earlier antisectarian leaders of the *sant* movement, Kabir* (d. ca. 1448) and Guru Nanak* (d. 1539), Eknath* found the exclusivist religious consciousness typified by Islam to be intolerable.[144] In this poetic dialogue, the Turk reproaches the Hindu for crass idolatry, ridiculous scriptures, purity regulations, and caste distinctions. The Hindu replies by making parallels between the stories of the Hindu and Islamic scriptures, and criticizes the worship of Sufi tombs, animal sacrifices, and above all the desire to convert Hindus into *musulmans** (the term *musulman** only occurs in the verses men-

tioning conversion). At the end the two become reconciled, realizing that in God all distinctions disappear. By Eknath's * time, it was generally realized that Islamic exclusiveness had called forth a countermovement of exclusivity on the Hindu side, but sectarian religious identity did not yet comfortably fit with the structure of Indian society.

Another depiction of the tension between Hindu and Islamic identities, once again conceived in terms of caste, occurs in the work of the later Marathi hagiographer Mahipati* (d. 1790). In his lengthy compendium of lives of Maratha saints, Mahipati* described the curious case of Bahirambhat* (or Bahira* Jataveda*, ca. 1400), who had resolved to become totally indifferent to the world. This saint decided to avoid conventional renunciation as a forest-dweller, on the grounds that he would only attract reverential disciples that way. "Still," he thought, "I must plan that my relations with my own caste should suddenly break so that no one should question me." By breaking with his caste, he will incur the greatest amount of dishonor among men; social censure will, however, be the test that purifies him. "Everyone will spit on me. They will offend me with slander. It is fitting that exactly this should come to pass. If things happen in this way, my body will become pure." So Bahirambhat* did the most dreadful thing he could imagine: he went to the *qazi** and asked to become a Muslim. "Take me into your caste. Know ye, that making a Muslim out of a Hindu is considered to be meritorious (*punya**) in your *sastra** (holy book). So don't hesitate. Make me like yourself." The surprised qazi* asked what was wrong, and offered to help, but he was unable to comprehend why the high-caste pandit wished to become a Muslim. "I have not become free of desires. (But) yours appears to be a direct way of reaching *Bhagavamta** (God)." Bahirambhat* was accordingly "defiled"—that is, circumcised—and officially converted, and his family and friends bitterly criticized him for entering into a low caste. Bahirambhat* then repented his conversion, and begged to be reinstated in his community, and the Brahmans relented and prescribed a penance. Unfortunately Bahirambhat's* circumcision could not be undone, but when Muslims reproached him for apostasy, he pointed out to them that he still had the pierced ears of a Brahman too. He no longer knew what he was, for he no longer belonged to either caste. Wandering in a daze and regarded as insane, Bahirambhat* at last met the saint Nagnath, who knocked Bahirambhat* unconscious, pounded his body into jelly with a pestle, reformed it into an image, and cremated it. Then Nagnath brought the body to life with a glance, and Bahirambhat* was reborn, foreskin restored, in "a divine body with all good qualities, such as Yogis enjoy."[145] In this tale of conversion to Islam and apostasy, there is only the vaguest notion of Islamic religion; becoming a Muslim is primarily seen as an estrangement from one's caste group, with the impressively distinctive rite of circumcision as an apparently irrevocable price of admission. Typical of the *bhakti* position, the story also sees conventional religion, whether Hindu or Islamic, as a

detour from the esoteric truth of the self. The ingenious solution to Bahirambhat's * dilemma is an example of the initiatic death rituals of yoga, which replace the normal body with an immortal body of adamant.[146]

Militant religious opposition to Islam began to take form in the late seventeenth century and early eighteenth century, when a resurgent Maratha kingdom under Shivaji challenged Mughul authority. Parallel with the Maratha revival was the militarization of the Sikhs under the pressure of Mughul persecution; such was the influence of the Islamic model of exclusivism that the Sikhs even adopted the Arabic term *shahid** for their martyrs. But in Maharashtra the elaboration of religious separateness was to be more extensive, founded upon a longer cultural tradition and a larger social base than the Sikhs had in the Punjab. The militant Maratha religious leader Ramdas spoke bitterly of the injustices of Mughul rule:

> Many were those who were taken by the Muslims (*Tamra*) ... many were the good women who were abducted; many were converted to Islam .... Under the Muslim kings Muslim fairs (*'urs*) are held everywhere. The holy places (of the Hindus) have been desecrated, the homes of Brahmans are destroyed, the whole Earth has been shaken up, the religion (*dharma*) is lost.[147]

Inspired by the successes of Shivaji, Ramdas envisioned a new heaven on earth, when "the land of the Hindus is now strong .... The sinful Awrangzeb* is destroyed, the *mlechchas* are destroyed, the holy places that were destroyed are now re-established ... and there is plenty of everything for the performance of the sacred rites."[148] Shivaji's exploits, especially his assassination of the Mughul soldier Afzal* Khan*, became the nucleus of a totally new bardic tradition in Marathi that contributed importantly to the formation of a regional identity.[149]

The spirit of the Maratha revival acquired its modem nationalistic form in the late nineteenth century, when Maratha writers began to debate the significance of Muslim institutions and British rule. Probably Bal Gangadhar Tilak (d. 1920) more than anyone else can be credited with the creation of a modem Maratha historiography, in which he denounced the idol-smashing Mahmud*, the bloodthirsty Timur*, and the violent Awrangzib*. These dramatic images would become the stereotypes of Islam in modem Hindu nationalism.[150] The more extreme manifestations of anti-Muslim sentiment are visible in today's popular culture in Maharashtra; examples that come to mind include the Shivaji comic book that portrays Mughul soldiers as Islamic *mullas**, and the eccentric P. N. Oak, whose "Committee to Rewrite Indian History" maintains that there is no Islamic architecture in India, only defaced Hindu buildings.[151]

As Indians were slowly coming to terms with a religious group that defined itself as an exclusive community, the notion of a separate Hindu community must have been encouraged. Wilfred Cantwell Smith has sug-

gested that "the crystallization of religious communities" intensified throughout India from the seventeenth century onward, increasingly formalizing the Hindu and Sikh communities as well as the Islamic. [152] It is not certain when the term "Hindu" first became common as a religious designation in Indian languages, but we have seen some indications of how the term originated in Arabic and Persian, as a negative counterpart, first of Turk, then of Muslim. A roughly similar process seems to have occurred in both Hindu and Islamic contexts (using these terms now lightly, with an awareness of their changing content over time for different Indian audiences). That is, while the Persian term "Hindu" moved from ethnic and geographic reference to religious designation, the various Indian terms for Muslim ethnic groups began, much more slowly, to include a consciousness of religious separateness. The internal reflex of recognizing a separate Islamic community was for Indians to become self-conscious. The even more abstract European concept of religion, with all its condescending colonial and missionary accents, dramatically intensified Indian self-consciousness. As W. C. Smith observed, "When something called `Hinduism' was attacked, Indians arose to defend it."[153] The modem term for this self-consciousness in India is "communalism." The traumatic partition of India, and the uncertain creation of an Islamic state in Pakistan, created further tensions in the Hindu-Muslim relationship. The current political impasse between India and Pakistan is an ironic testimony to the efficacy, and perhaps the irreversibility, of communal self-consciousness.

3
Religion and Empire in the Delhi Sultanate

Medieval Hindustan in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries was a society dominated by a power-seeking aristocracy of Turkish origin, who fought to establish their authority in a complex historical and political situation. The symbolism and psychology of world domination formed the underpinning of the Delhi sultanate. The Turkish sultanate of Delhi was based on Persian royal symbolism, qualified by superficial acknowledgment of the Islamic political tradition of the caliphate; its main objectives were defense against the rival Mongol imperium and expansion into the Indian subcontinent. While Turkish ethnicity and Islamic religious identity did have some symbolic prominence in the sultanate, in practice the patronage of the regime clearly included support of non-Muslim religious institutions, incomprehensible as that may seem in nationalist terms. In contrast to other areas such as the Anatolian frontier, where centuries of warfare between Christians and Muslims made religious identity a self-conscious and politically charged factor, medieval India did not regard religion as politically decisive. Pragmatism was dominant over ideology, or rather, nationalistic ideology was simply not yet present. The Sufis could not help but respond to the powerful center of gravity that was the sultanate. The tensions between the sultanate and Sufi institutions led to the production of rival historiographies mirroring the concerns of both groups.

Persian Kingship and the Indo-Muslim State

The quest for world dominion is an old one, which in a compact form coincided with the cosmic symbolism of kingship in many traditional civilizations. The world or cosmos was identified with the inhabited realm. Beyond the borders of the cosmos were the demonic forces of chaos, incarnated in

troublesome nomads or rival kingdoms. The Persian empire of Cyrus was perhaps the first explicitly to break out of the protective shell of cosmic symbolism into an empirical world whose receding borders excited an insatiable thirst for conquest. Alexander of Macedon embodied the Persian imperial dream even more successfully than the Persians themselves, and his conquests across Asia became the stuff of enduring romances and legends. [154] Roman Caesars and Persian shahs of later centuries were all followers of this dream of world conquest, which their court ceremonials and symbolism proclaimed in a hundred ways. The sudden establishment of an Arab state by the successors of the Prophet Muhammad* catapulted a tribal people into the command of a vast empire. It is not surprising that the Arab caliph (*khalifa**) soon began to display all the signs and ceremonies of universal kingship that the conquered shah and the rival Caesar used.[155]

Iranian political theory entered the `Abbasid* court through such influential Persian advisers as Ibn al-Muqaffa` and the Barmaki* family, and the ethical and political maxims of Iran became the staples of the new *adab* courtly literature in Arabic.[156] By the third/ninth century, Iranian court poets, in an endless stream of Persian panegyric odes (*qasidas**), were lauding their patrons as modern rivals of Alexander, Caesar, and Khusraw (Chosroes). The practice of the ancient Iranian kings was also the subject of the famous *Siyasat* nama** (*Book of government*), which the wazir* Nizam* al-Mulk wrote as a guidebook for the Seljuk sultan Malik Shah*.[157]

In the eastern Islamic lands, new rulers of Turkish ancestry entered in waves of nomadic resettlement, driven by the turmoil of the central Asian steppes in search of better fortune. Their appearance coincided with the renaissance of Persian royal traditions encouraged by Iranian vassals of the caliph. Yet it was a Turk of slave origin, Mahmud* of Ghazna, who commissioned the complete edition of the Persian royal epic, Firdawsi's* *Shah* nama**.[158] This enormous poem, containing over sixty thousand verses, draws on Iranian legends and heroic cycles to portray the history of kingship from the creation of the first man Gayumars* up to the extinction of the Sasanian* monarchy by the Arab conquest. Kingship in this tradition is of divine origin, symbolized by the king's halo or aura of light called the "royal glory" (*farr-i shahi**), which is a lesser manifestation of the "divine glory" (*farr-i izadi**). The *Shah* nama** became a favorite text for all the royal dynasties in the lands from Anatolia to central Asia and India where Persian was the court language.[159] The magnificent illustrated copies of this work prepared for the Safavi* prince Tahmasp*, for the Mongol Il-khans*, for the Mughuls, and the like, testify to the unfailing popularity of Firdawsi's* poem as an expression of royalist sentiments.[160] Kings commissioned a host of imitations of the *Shah* nama** to immortalize their own exploits, though few of these poems have the sonorous and majestic qualities of their model.[161]

The renaissance of Persian royalism only became politically significant

because of the decay of the central Islamic institution of the caliphate. As a world imperial structure, the caliphate had reached its apogee in the third/ninth century, and by 945 had fallen into a position of subservience to an upstart Iranian dynasty, the Buyids *. A combination of factors were responsible for this decline, including the increasing independence of provincial governors, agrarian rebellions, sectarian movements, and pretorian coups by Turkish guards. The result was that the caliphs were reduced for the next few centuries to controlling a small area of land around Baghdad. Because of the prestige of the caliphate as an office traced back to authority of the Prophet Muhammad*, princes continued to pay lip service to the caliphs and went through the ritual of asking the caliphs for investiture with positions they had already gained by force of arms. This procedure gave the fiction of legitimacy to rulers whose only claim to authority was the sword. The pretense of caliphal supremacy was upheld until a rival imperial power determined to extinguish it; Hulagu* Khan's* Mongol troops sacked Baghdad and killed the last caliph, al-Musta`sim*, in 1258. The authority of the caliphate was now virtually meaningless in any practical sense, although the Mamluk* rulers of Egypt kept a branch of the `Abbasid* family under a demeaning house arrest in Cairo for several centuries, producing the nominal caliph only for ceremonial occasions. In the absence of a meaningful caliphate, Turkish and Mongol rulers in the eastern Islamic lands increasingly buttressed the authority of their kingship with the royal symbolism of Iran.

The Turkish sultans of Delhi were well aware of the Iranian royal tradition, which their Ghaznavid and Ghurid* predecessors in Afghanistan had employed so strenuously. In Delhi, as in Ghazna and Ghur, *dari** or "court" Persian continued to be the language of administration, acting as a natural medium for the expression of Iranian notions of kingship. A clear restatement of the Persian monarchical tradition was Fakhr-i Mudabbir's *Adab al-harb** *wa al-shuja`a** (*Manners of war and bravery*), a partly political but primarily military treatise dedicated to Sultan Iltutmish (d. 633/1236). The Delhi sultans combined the symbolism of divinely ordered kingship with a racialistic bias in favor of the Turks. The light complexioned Turk, already a staple figure of beauty in Persian poetry, was paired off against the dark Indian in an antithetical pairing that became proverbial.[162] Sultan Ghiyas* al-Din* Balban (d. 686/1287), a Turk who was once purchased in the slave market of Baghdad, imaginatively traced his ancestry to the mythical Turanian hero Afrasyab* from the *Shah** *nama**, and likewise insisted on the use of Persian royal ceremonial in the court. Such was his sense of Turkish superiority that he was infuriated when advisers admitted into his presence a low-born Indian Muslim, whom they recommended to the sultan for no better reason than ability.[163] But Turkish racialism was not fundamental to the institution of the Delhi sultanate, though it continued to be a powerful factor at court. From the time of `Ala'* al-Din* Khalji* (d. 717/1316), the sultans recognized that Indianiz-

ing their administration was a sound governing policy, and by the time of Sultan Muhammad * ibn Tughluq (d. 752/1351), Indian converts to Islam and Hindus formed a significant proportion of the administrative officials.[164] Regardless of the ethnic composition of the Delhi sultanate, however, it remained an imperial state with a symbolic basis in Persian kingship.

Indian traditions of kingship do not seem to have had any impact on the Turkish sultans of Delhi. The antiquity of the world ruler (*cakravartin*) concept is attested in both the Buddhist Jataka* stories and in the Hindu literature (Kautilya's *Arthasastra** and the *dharmasastra** tradition), and many an Indian king has claimed this lofty status.[165] The Persians had not been utterly unaware of Indian political traditions, for Indian classics such as the *Hitopadesa** had been translated into middle Persian at an early date (later Ibn al-Muqaffa` would translate this into Arabic as the famous *Kalila** *wa Dimna*). But the absence of any concrete world imperial program in India since Harsha (d. 648) left the monarchical principle primarily in the hands of minor dynasties. Battle was certainly the main vocation of the Indian warrior caste, but the practice of seasonal raids on an almost ritual basis did not contribute to the consolidation of a great empire. Modern Indian nationalist historians have frequently bemoaned the "fratricidal" warfare among the Hindu kings, which prevented them from uniting to meet the "Muslim" threat, but this modern communalistic language is a product of twentieth-century ideologies. Nothing could have been further from the minds of these thirteenth-century rulers than Hindu *svarajya** (self-rule) or the Pakistan movement.[166] At any rate, compared to the expansionism of the early Arab caliphate, or central Asian empires such as the Qara Khitai and the Mongols, the Rajputs and other Indian kings offered the Turks no awe-inspiring imperial spectacle, despite their ability on the battlefield. The Turkish sultans constructed their imperial edifice with reference to Irano-Semitic and central Asian traditions, and in their proclamations they generally remained oblivious to the native traditions of India, despite the wholesale absorption of existing local Indian administrations into the Turkish empire.

Granted the presence of the Iranian symbols of monarchy at the Delhi court, what was the psychological significance of this tradition of kingship? Ziya'* al-Din* Barani*, the historian and disappointed courtier, is one of the main sources for the Delhi sultanate, and both in his historical and in his political writing he has brilliantly portrayed the unbounded ambition that is necessary for the tree king seeking world dominion. Barani* had been a courtier in the service of Sultan Muhammad* ibn Tughluq for seventeen years, from 1334 to 1351. He fell from grace at the accession of Sultan Firuz* Shah*, possibly because of being implicated in the abortive coup of Ahmad* Ayaz*. During his last exile from court, he produced the only surviving work (in a unique manuscript) of political theory written during the Delhi sultanate, the *Fatawa-i*jahandari** (*Institutes of world dominion*). Barani* presented his views on king-

ship in the guise of being a record of the principles and laws current during the reign of Mahmud * of Ghazna (d. 1030), but there was a great distance separating his romanticized portrait of the king from the historical reality. Using historical figures like Mahmud* was merely a device Barani* used to endow his analysis of kingship with the aura of tradition; he was thus freely able to criticize the shortcomings of the sultans of Delhi by discussing safely distant examples from history and legend. The *Fatawa-i* jahandari**, even more so than Barani's* history of the Delhi sultans, the *Tarikh-i* Firuz* Shahi**, gives a superb portrait of the tensions and motivations characterizing the world imperial ambition of the Delhi sultanate.[167]

Barani* begins from the Arabic form of the old Persian adage, "religion and kingdom are twins" (*al-din* wa al-mulk tu'aman**), but the actual relationship between religion and politics is tantalizingly ambiguous. He gives this proverb a mythological embodiment, maintaining that the two sons of Adam, Seth and Gayumars* (*sic),* were assigned prophecy and kingship as their respective provinces.[168] Seth's successors the prophets were to show the way of God's commandments to humanity, while Gayumars* led the kings in ordering and chastising humanity according to justice in order to found world dominion.[169] Barani* in this way incorporates kingship, via the Iranian primeval man Gayumars*, into the divine economy of the Islamic religious tradition. The accommodation of kingship with Islam is, however, full of inconsistencies, so that it appears to be a secular regime's mere lip service to religion.[170] On the level of ethics, Barani* permits the ruler personally to engage in behavior forbidden by Islamic law as long as the ruler's ultimate aim is to support the practice of Islam socially as the state religion.[171] The customs of Persian kingship, he candidly admits, are opposed to the example (*sunnat*) of the Prophet Muhammad*, and the secular laws necessary for empire contradict and supersede the Islamic legal system (*shari`at**).[172] Politically, Barani* ignores the question of the caliphate as the supreme Islamic institution, maintaining that the sultan is the ultimate authority both in religious and secular terms.[173]

Barani* attempts to resolve the apparent contradictions between kingship and Islam by stating that kingship is the reflection of divinity on earth, and is thus superior to prophecy in this respect. Prophecy is the perfection of religiousness and kingship is the perfection of the world, but they are contradictory perfections. Religiousness is servantship, which is characterized by weakness, poverty, and need, while worldly kingship has the qualities of lordship, such as power, greatness, and bounty. The qualities of kingship are thus more properly divine attributes than those of prophecy.[174] "Kingship (*padshahi**) is the vicegerency (*khilafat**) of God and the representation (*niyabat**) of God."[175] Since the king is "the shadow of God on his earth" (*zill* allah* fi* ardih**), the Persian court ritual of prostration (*sijda*) to the king is technically permitted, though otherwise prostration is only performed before God.[176] Theoretically, the ideal king is the metaphorical world ruler

(*jahandar-i * majazi**), who imitates the example (*ittiba`i* sunnat*) of the real world ruler (*jahandar-i* haqiqi**—that is, God.[177] Like God, the king possesses the divine attributes of both grace and wrath to reward the good and punish the evil.[178] While both kings and prophets must have the qualities of greatness, intellect, and piety, the kings must avoid any appearance of miserliness and lack of ambition; it is necessary for kings to mingle their good qualities with infidelity and pathology (*kufr wa maraz**), for they must have the magnificence and ambition required to thwart the powers of evil among men.[179] It is not possible to rule successfully with the poverty and thorough moral uprightness of a prophet; it is for this reason that the first four caliphs after Muhammad* all fell martyrs to the swords of assassins. Imperial ambition is not permissible for the prophet. The example (*sunnat*) of the Prophet Muhammad* is fundamentally opposed to the customs (*rusum**) of Khusraw.[180] Barani* maintains that it is one of the great tribulations of kings, that despite their tree piety, they are forced by the requirements of office to commit acts forbidden by Islamic law. For them, drinking wine, the pomp and ritual of court, and the grandeur of military might are mere show, for the tree kings, like Alexander (*sic*), are really only concerned about the next world.[181]

The institute of kingship would be inconceivable, according to Barani*, without an insatiable ambition for world conquest.[182] It is a limitless form of egotism, requiring "obtaining supremacy over the world and its inhabitants, conveying to the ears of the world the cry of `I and no other,' making his court the resort in need of the seventy-two sects, and conceiving his equals as under his power."[183] The key to this ambition is the search for domination over the whole world, for anything less will not suffice to convince his subjects of his seriousness. The desire for world conquest also amounts to religious imperialism, for the tree king "desires to bring the inhabited quarter under his command and rule, to illumine the children of Adam with the light of Islam, to bring the seventy-two sects into the monotheistic faith, and to make sure that the example of the Prophet is followed."[184]

It is important to realize that the ambition for world conquest need not be attained literally to be valid; the mere presence of the desire for dominion is the essential thing. Barani* makes use of the ancient symbolism of the "kings of the word" to make this point. He says, as mentioned above, that a king's ambition requires "*conceiving* his equals as under his power" (the emphasis is mine). The "equals" (*ham-sar*) are the other monarchs who pretend to word rule: during the reign of the Persian king Qubad*, his equals were the Caesar of Rome, the Khan* of China, the `Aziz* of Egypt, the Padshah* of Syria, the Taba` of Yemen, the sultan of the Franks, and the Ray [raja] of Qannauj.[185] A nearly identical symbolism is found in the wall paintings of a princely palace of the Umayyad caliphate, Qusayr* `Amra, dated to around 710; there, the caliph is pictured on the throne of world rule, with the Caesar, the Khusraw (Kisra*), the Khan*, the `Aziz*, the Negus of Ethiopia, and the last Visigothic king of Spain,

all acknowledging his suzerainty with salutations. [186] It seems that the Um-ayyad pretensions to world conquest remained partially imaginary too, for by no means all these rulers had submitted to Arab dominion. The concept of the great kings of the world was well-known throughout the Islamic world in Barani's* time. Ibn Battuta's* motive for his remarkable peregrination from Morocco to China and back was apparently the desire to encompass the world by meeting face to face with "the Seven Mighty Kings."[187] Barani* stresses that in fact any full-scale war between equals should be avoided, because it causes immense destruction that threatens the existence of one or both societies. He undoubtedly had in mind the Mongol conquest, which caused unimaginable devastation from Central Asia to the Mediterranean, and extinguished the `Abbasid* caliphate. With this very practical limitation, Barani* allows the desire for world conquest to remain as a prerequisite for kingship.[188]

Another interesting example of Barani's* analysis of royal ambition, from the *Tarikh-i* Firuz* Shahi**, is the lengthy conversation that Sultan `Ala'* al-Din* Khalji* reportedly had with Barani's* uncle, the wazir* `Ala'* al-Mulk. Barani* enumerates the string of remarkable successes that the sultan had enjoyed by the third year of his reign (698/1299), with a great victory over the Mongols, countrywide prosperity, and unprecedented wealth in the royal treasury. Finding himself the unopposed master of "two or three climes" of the earth's seven, he grew so intoxicated with his power that he formed an audacious idea, which Barani* disingenuously claims "had never occurred to the mind of any emperor" before. He told his courtiers that he wanted their advice about two plans that he had conceived to deal with his fellow kings (*muluk-i* harif**). The first was this: the Prophet Muhammad* with his four companions (the first four caliphs), by their strength and courage, had invented (*payda* kard*) the religious law (*shari`at**) and religion (*din**), and thereby he had earned the name of prophet, which would endure until the resurrection. God had also given `Ala'* al-Din* four friends, whom he named, and with their swords he proposed to bring all humanity into his path, so that from this religion and teaching (*mazhab*) their names would likewise endure until the resurrection. At this point, "he called for wine for the assembly and asked the assembly's advice about publicizing (*payda* awardan**) the religion and teaching, especially with the kings." He then emphasized again his desire that his name should endure after his death, and revealed his second plan: pointing out his great wealth, numerous elephants, and other resources, he said, "I want to entrust Delhi to someone and go myself, like Alexander, after world conquest, and bring the `inhabited quarter' (*rub`-i maskun**) under my control." Barani* noted that with this very folly in mind, `Ala'* al-Din* had already called himself "the Second Alexander," both in his coinage and in the *khutba** sermon proclaimed in the congregational mosque. "In his drunkenness he boasted, `Every clime that I conquer I will entrust to one of the nobles of my kingdom, and I will go after

and conquer another clime. Who is there who will stand before me?' " One imagines at this point a pregnant pause, while the courtiers rack their brains for an adequate response to the proposal. They knew that some people laughed at the young king's folly while others feared it. [189]

Barani's* uncle `Ala'* al-Mulk was a trusted drinking companion of the sultan, and though riot present at the assembly, had been informed of the sultan's unusual plans. On being asked his opinion, `Ala'* al-Mulk gently requested that the ever-present wine be taken away and that their audience be restricted to the two of them and the sultan's four companions. Apologetically he urged the sultan not to discuss religious law, religion, and teaching, for these were the affairs of prophets, not the craft of kings; religion and the religious law are related to heavenly inspiration, and can never be constructed by human opinion and action. Never in all time could kings play the role of prophets, for kings are concerned with world conquest and world dominion, and moreover prophecy has been sealed by the mission of Muhammad*. The sultan should abandon this sort of talk altogether, or else his Muslim subjects would desert him, and so his kingdom would be destroyed. `Ala'* al-Mulk then explicitly equated the attempt to found a new religion by force with the Mongol conquest, which was ultimately unsuccessful as a world religion. "As many rivers of blood as Chingiz* Khan* made flow from cities of Muslims, he could not establish the Mongol religion and Mongol laws among the people. Rather, most Mongols became Muslims and accepted the religion of Muhammad*, while no Muslim became a Mongol and accepted the Mongol religion."[190] Fortunately for the courtier, Sultan `Ala'* al-Din* accepted his advice and praised `Ala'* al-Mulk's honesty and loyalty.

With regard to the second proposal, to conquer the world, the courtier was not so negative. "It is the goal of ambitious sultans, and the practice of world conquest is that they want to conquer all the world and bring it under their control." `Ala'* al-Mulk observed that with the considerable resources at his disposal, the sultan could doubtless make great strides toward world conquest. On principle he could therefore make no objection, but he did caution that leaving his capital to imitate Alexander's conquest of the inhabited world would leave room for rebellion to take place in Delhi in the king's absence. And where could he find a wazir as wise and trustworthy as Aristotle, who kept Alexander's home regions safe and sound for the thirty-two years the conqueror was away? The clime of India was in any case difficult to rely on in the sultan's absence, because of the untrustworthy people found there. To this tactful advice, the sultan replied, "What good are the wealth, elephants, and horses that have come into my hands, if I do not conquer the world and conquer no other climes, but remain satisfied with the mere kingdom of Delhi? How can I obtain the name of 'World Conqueror'?" `Ala'* al-Mulk ventured to suggest two other projects to replace the ones rejected. The first project would be to put all the clime of Hindustan, east, west, and south,

under his command, so that the very word "rebel" will no longer be spoken. The second, and greater, project would be "to close the Multan road to the Mongol catastrophe, and to close the road for the Mongols to enter, by strengthening fortresses in that area with trustworthy officers and repair of forts, digging trenches," and other necessary military preparations. "In order to completely remove the power of the Mongols to injure Hindustan," it is especially important to appoint experienced and trustworthy officers in each of the strategic points of the frontier. These two projects—removing any opposition among the inhabitants of Hindustan, and placing great and famous commanders in the path of the Mongol invasion—will perfectly satisfy the heart of the king, so that he can sit in the center of his kingdom in Delhi, ruling in splendor and performing the tasks of world conquest and world dominion, `Ala' * al-Mulk concluded by delicately suggesting that the sultan's policy-making would be improved if he refrained from drinking wine, a suggestion that the repentant ruler humbly embraced.[191]

The conversation as reported by Barani* fifty years afterward, need not be supposed a literal transcription of an actual discussion, but it gives a wonderfully clear picture of unlimited ambition colliding with the political realities of the Delhi sultanate. Like the conversations reported by Thucydides, Barani's* accounts are summaries of his analysis of the issues at stake. It is not necessary to reject this account merely on the grounds that it is not strictly in accord with what is known of `Ala al-Din* Khalji's* policies; its significance is not as a report but as an analysis.[192] The sultan's first proposal, to found a new world religion by force of arms, appears at first sight the simplistic plan of a blockheaded warrior-king. But `Ala'* al-Mulk's criticism of the plan, after distinguishing the roles of emperor and prophet in exactly the terms Barani* uses elsewhere, then dwells on the failure of the Mongols to achieve the conversion of the world despite all their savage destruction. From this perspective, Barani* views the Mongol empire as a failed attempt to subjugate the kings of the world by religious imperialism. Barani* blurs the boundary line between state religion and the naked quest for world dominion. The second proposal, to emulate Alexander and conquer the inhabited world, is really just another form of the project to convert the world by force. Both ambitions seek a form of immortality through fame, based on the elimination of all opposition and boundless expansion of the ego. Barani's* added touch of ascribing the king's madness to excessive wine is his way of providing an external touchstone to the imperial psychosis, but he finds only the creation of a new religion horrifying, whereas world conquest is a laudable if generally impractical goal.

The moralistic tone of the conclusion to this conversation, in which `Ala'* al-Mulk persuades the repentant sultan to give up wine, is historically unconvincing.[193] The courtier's concrete advice to the sultan, to secure his conquest of India and strengthen the frontier against Mongol invasion, is nevertheless

an accurate analysis of the two imperatives of the Delhi sultans' policy, and forms the imperialistic rationale of the program of raiding the Deccan that led to the temporary annexation of most of south India. [194]

Non-Muslims and the Sultanate

Questions remain about Barani's* description of the religious basis of the Turkish imperium, in particular regarding the strength of Islamic religious imperialism at the court. Barani* clearly favored a repressive policy of persecuting Hindus, advice that the sultans persistently ignored. Yet by blatant misrepresentation, Barani* gave the impression that religious repression of Hindus was the basis of Turkish rule in India since the time of Mahmud* of Ghazna. He maintained, for example, that the Khalji* system of direct taxation was a method for humbling Hindu notables, which the sultans adopted as a repressive measure only after rejecting the preferred alternative of massacring Hindus as impractical. He pictured the rationale for the sultans' policy in another fictitious conversation, in which Sultan `Ala'* al-Din* Khalji* asked the advice of one Qazi* Mughis* al-Din* about the status in Islamic law of Hindus in relation to the land tax (*kharaj**). The sultans had in fact followed the ancient precedent of the Arab conquerors of Sind, by treating Hindus on an analogy with Christians and Jews, and giving them protected status (*zimma*) and exemption from military duty on payment of a capitation tax (*jizya*). The qazi* presented Barani's* argument to the king, saying that care should be taken to humiliate the Hindus while collecting the tax, to make the non-Muslim obedient and exalt the pride of the true religion over falsehood.

The anti-Hindu policy, the qazi* claimed, was required, because Hindus are the worst enemies of the Prophet Muhammad*, who himself had clearly stated that they should be killed and looted and enslaved whenever possible (the historical impossibility of this fantastic claim does not seem to bother Barani*). Hindus in reality must either adopt Islam or die, and their property must be all looted, according to a legal ruling that Barani* elsewhere (falsely) attributed to the Shafi`i* school of Islamic law.[195] He pretended that except for the school of Abu* Hanifa*, which is unfortunately followed in Hindustan, all the other schools of law agree that the capitation tax and protected status cannot apply to Hindus, so they must choose Islam or death (once again Barani* fabricates, as Hindus are not even mentioned in classical legal texts).

The conversation then continued, describing how the Hindu village headmen lived like nobles and ignored their tax payments, so that the king's authority was flouted. The sultan replied to the learned qazi* that he had much experience in these matters, and it would not be possible to exterminate all the Hindu masses in India. Talk then turned to development of a severe taxation system that would effectively humble these Hindu officials and build up the

treasury for conquests abroad. [196] Barani* was clearly disappointed in the failure of the Delhi sultans to follow his enlightened policy. Barani's* hatred of Hindus, whose prosperity he blamed for his own misfortunes, was behind this episode. The virulent anti-Hindu tone of Barani's* rhetoric gave a tone of religious persecution to the sultan's tax policy, although it appears to have been rather a revenue reform designed to eliminate middlemen.[197]

Barani's* stress on Islamic religious imperialism in the Delhi sultanate is undoubtedly overstated. Even his hero Mahmud* of Ghazna, when offering loot from a desecrated Hindu temple to a Muslim religious scholar, found that the scholar refused it, regarding it as stolen property.[198] To be sure, there was a large influx of Muslim religious scholars into Hindustan from the time of the Mongol invasions, which helped bring about a renaissance in the Islamic sciences, particularly *hadith** and law.[199] It would be natural, too, to assume that these religious scholars would have a much heightened horror of paganism, after the destruction of the great Islamic cities of central Asia and Iran at the hands of the heathen Mongols.[200] Islamic legal literature is conservative, however. As shown above (Part I, chap. 2), few works on Islamic law from the Delhi sultanate took cognizance of the existence of Hindus. Barani's* own disgruntled depiction of the lofty position of Hindu nobles argues against any actual policy of religious repression or imperialism in the early Delhi sultanate.[201] Barani* blamed his own loss of position at court on the lack of a policy favoring Muslims of noble birth over all others, so in the end a political factor lay behind his religious fanaticism.[202] Sultan Firuz* Shah*, probably after 776/1374-75, was the first sultan of Delhi to undertake enforcement of discriminatory sanctions against non-Muslims as well as persecution of Muslim heretics.[203] But even Firuz* Shah's* ostentatiously militant orthodoxy, as proclaimed in a lengthy inscription that once filled the octagonal dome of old Delhi's principal mosque, must be measured against the actions of his regime.[204]

The commitment to Islamic symbolism, important as it was to the Delhi sultans, did not in practice preclude support for non-Islamic religious institutions. It was a characteristic policy of most Indo-Muslim rulers to give endowments and exemptions to Brahmans and temples when it suited their political purposes. Large numbers of documents testify to land endowments and tax exemptions conferred by Muslim kings on Brahmans, Jains, Jogis (yogis), Parsis, and on temples to Shiva, Vishnu, and the goddess. Two valuable collections of revenue documents from a Jogi establishment and a Vaisnava* center in the Punjab show a continuous record of support by all the Mughul emperors from Akbar to Awrangzib* and later.[205] Although some of these documents conferred new land revenues or dealt with problems of shrine administration, others, like Akbar's grant to a Zoroastrian in 1578, were resumptions or expansions of grants from previous rulers.[206] Although few pre-Mughul revenue documents survive, the language of some later documents indicates a

continuation of the grants of earlier sultans as well as of the grants of Hindu kings. A Qutbshahi * document of 1684 confers village revenues for the upkeep of the Malleshwara Swami temple, specifically referring to it as *agraharam** land, a Sanskrit term denoting land endowment set aside for the support of Brahmans; this grant must have been a continuation of an ancient pre-Islamic foundation.[207] Many more examples could be adduced[208] What conclusion is the historian to draw from this documentation?

Turkish successor states since the Seljuks had legitimized their authority through their patronage of religious institutions, principally academies for scholars of the Islamic religious sciences and Sufi establishments. Granted the structural similarities between Turkish and Indian kingship, it was not a large step to assimilate Hindu religious establishments into this patronage structure. The Mongols practiced a similar type of patronage of different religions, since, as David Morgan put it, they "believed in taking out as much celestial insurance as possible."[209] The very same terminology covered both types of religious endowment; the Arabic term *a'imma* (plural of *imam**, "religious leader") denoted by extension the grants and exemptions extended to the religious leaders, whether Muslim or Hindu.[210] All were alike expected "to remain occupied with prayer for the permanence of the conquering dynasty," a phrase that, with slight variations, inevitably appears in the grant documents. Although the sultans of Delhi could not be expected to have read the authorities of Hindu law, they may have surmised a connection between the kings of India and the wealthy temples that presented such a tempting spectacle to invaders. But many questions remain. Under what circumstances did it occur to Muslim kings that donations to temples would carry weight with a large group of their Indian subjects? How extensive was the support of non-Muslim shrines in comparison to Islamic institutions? What was the proportion of non-Islamic grants that continued under Turkish rule? We have no way of knowing at present. Documentation from the sultanate period is scarce. War and disaster have reduced the vast archives of the Mughul bureaucracy to a small fraction of their former size, and court histories rarely focused on measures designed to please nonelite groups. Until scholars make a systematic attempt to collect from many private sources the revenue documents concerning royal support of non-Muslim religious institutions, generalizations about the political status of non-Muslims in medieval India will remain speculative.

The problematic kernel in the sultans' support of non-Muslim religious institutions deserves methodological reflection. Why are we surprised by this official support of non-Muslim religions? The standard answer has been in the plausibly argued concept of an Islamic state: despite official toleration of *zimmi** religions, it is the duty of an Islamic sovereign to prevent public display of non-Islamic religions or expansion of their physical or social base. The concept of enforcing disabilities for non-Muslim religions has a history in

Islamic law that can probably be traced back to the Umayyad caliph `Umar ibn `Abd al-`Aziz * (d. 101/720). At different times, rulers have invoked a number of disability statutes forbidding non-Muslims to ride horses, requiring special dress, and so forth; Islamic legal scholars disagree about the legitimate extent and application of such disability rules. The relative infrequency with which these rules have been applied in India suggests that political and historical contexts may have a great deal to do with royal policies of harassing particular religious groups.

The problem is not in historical analysis, but in the *idée fixe* inherited from the older orientalism, that Islam is a religion of intolerance, spread by the sword. Under this handy assumption, true Muslim rulers will try to convert all heathens by any means necessary; idol-smashing is their favorite occupation. In this vein, a Western Indologist writes about Muhammad* ibn Tughluq: "Being a pious Muslim, he systematically destroyed every temple and shrine dedicated to Hindu Gods and had all their images smashed. If the great temple of Pandharpur had been spared by the Muslims in 1218 [sc. 1318], it was certainly destroyed by [the time of his reign].[211] From this point of view, it would be inconceivable that this same sultan's Muslim officials would repair a temple of Shiva and urge the resumption of worship at Kalyan, not far from Pandharpur, after disturbances caused by a rebellion in 1326, yet a Sanskrit inscription informs us that this was the case.[212] Most popular histories of India excoriate the late Mughul emperor Awrangzib* (d. 1707) for his bigotry and intolerance toward Hindus, which resulted in the imposition of the hated *jizya* tax and the destruction of many temples; many feel that Awrangzib's* fanaticism was the cause of the downfall of the Mughul empire. This atemporal and ideological portrait does not explain the historical circumstances that led half the Hindu nobility to support Awrangzib* in the war of succession against the liberal, supposedly pro-Hindu Dara* Shikuh.*[213] Nor does it explain the reasons behind Awrangzib's* well-documented support for a variety of Hindu religious institutions.[214] If we wish to understand the actions of either ruler, we must have a more advanced set of categories than "fanatic Muslim ruler" and its opposite, "not really a Muslim ruler."

The Turks ruled in India as a minority, and they typically reinstated conquered Indian kings as tributaries. In remote and mountainous areas the sultan's command might be freely ignored, and sometimes the sultan might have to treat Indian kings as independent rulers. The running of government depended in part on the retention of an existing Indian bureaucracy that collected land revenue and received appropriate perquisites.[215] Some of these Indian rulers and officials continued to act as sources of patronage for traditional religious institutions as before, even while they acknowledged Turkish suzerainty.[216] Although the data on state patronage of religion under the Delhi sultanate is still too fragmentary to justify confident generalizations, a brief comparison with the European Turkish frontier in Anatolia suggests a signifi-

cant difference between the two cases. The data collected by Vryonis led him to conclude that in Anatolia, "the sultans confiscated the vast majority of Christian lands, revenues, and buildings and bestowed them upon their Muslim secular and religious followers. Consequently, mosques, medresses, tekkes, hospitals, and the like spread across Anatolia, often in the very buildings and on the same lands formerly belonging to the Greek church." [217] The Delhi sultans certainly looted temples and built mosques out of the ruins of destroyed temples, and they doubtless appropriated land revenues from temples that had previously enjoyed the rajas'* patronage. But the Turkish rulers in Anatolia seem to have been more intent on religious imperialism than their counterparts in Delhi. The centuries of warfare between Byzantine Christians and Arab and Turkish Muslims contributed to an intense aggression in which religious identity played a major role.[218] Support for Christian institutions does not seem to have been a regular feature of Seljuk or Ottoman policy in Anatolia. India, with its many faiths and diverse kingdoms, did not represent a religiously homogeneous counter-empire for the Turks, as did Byzantium. In other words, there was less historical residuum of religious imperialism in Indian Islam than in the Turkish sphere; Indian Muslim rulers, accordingly, could more freely give patronage to non-Muslim institutions, when it was to their interest to do so.

To what extent was the Delhi sultanate recognizably an Indianized regime? Peter Hardy has pointed out the ambiguous power relations between Muslim and Hindu authorities: "It was as if, provided the Muslim conquerors offered certain tokens publicly that they were not going to introduce a wholly new language and vocabulary of politics, but rather to add new words to the stock of existing words or new layers of meaning to old words, then (while not going out of their way to be sociable) the conquered chiefs would not refuse all conversation."[219] Despite theoretical similarities between the Indian and Turkish-Islamic polities, however, Hardy questions whether, in concrete terms, Indian chiefs were invited to royal installation ceremonies in Delhi, and if so, whether they were impressed. Inscriptional evidence supplies a partial answer to this question, suggesting that, while Indians may not have had access to the Iranian and Islamic symbolism employed by the sultans, they were quite ready to view the sultans as fulfilling the royal imperatives of the Indian tradition. A Sanskrit inscription from a well and pilgrims' hospice from Rohtak in the Punjab, dated 1281, gives a dynastic list of the Turkish rulers of Hariyana* (the area around Delhi), beginning with the conqueror of Delhi, Shihab* al-Din* Ghuri*, and ending with a eulogy of the reigning sultan Balban (under whose authority, presumably, the well and building were constructed). According to the editor's summary, the text:

> Gives a highly classical account of Balban in a tone which could describe any Hindu king.... All the kings of India from Gauda*

(Bengal) to Gajjana (Ghazni *), and the Dravidian settlements of Setubandha (Far South) paid respect to Balban; his soldiers daily bathed in the Bay of Bengal and Arabian Sea; he conquered the Gaudas*, Andhras, Keralas, Karnatas*, Maharastras*, Gurjaras* and Latas.*[220]

The highly exaggerated tone of the inscription, attributing to Balban conquests that he had only dreamt of, should not obscure the important message of this inscription: Balban's putative conquests of the entire south Asian subcontinent, considered as the realm of ecumenic empire, made him a full-fledged universal emperor in Indian eyes.[221]

The sultans of Delhi made gestures toward Indianization most notably in their coinage. Coinage was one of the prerogatives of the sovereign, and the presentation of authority in coins must be partially construed as a statement of the ruler's concept of authority. It is difficult to make too much of symbolism in coins, however, because their practical use in local circulation also needed to be acceptable to the populace. Therefore it was common among Muslim conquerors to imitate previous types of coinage until consolidation of their authority permitted them to issue new types more to their liking. The early sultans of Delhi continued to use the coins of the Cauhan* Rajputs, which featured a horseman on one side and the bull of Shiva on the other with Devanagari inscriptions. Sultans of Bengal also used coins featuring the goddess Laksmi*.[222] A most curious example of the use of Indian media was a coin issued by Sultan Mahmud* of Ghazna in 418/1018, containing a Sanskrit translation of the Islamic profession of faith. On one side the coin gives in Arabic the name of the `Abbasid* caliph, the Arabic profession of faith, and the name of Mahmud*, surrounded by a legend with the date and mint town. The obverse dispenses with the caliph, but gives in Sanskrit, *avyaktam ekam* Muhamadah* avatarah* nrpatih* Mahamudah**, meaning roughly "There is One unlimited, Muhammad* is the *avatar**, the king is Mahmud*." This is an ingenious translation of "There is no god but God, Muhammad* is the messenger of God" (*la* ilaha* illa* allah* Muhammad* rasul* allah**), with the title of the ruler conspicuously forming a sequence with God and the Prophet. The selection of the term *avatar** to translate the Arabic *rasul**, "messenger," is striking, since *avatar** is a term reserved in Indian thought for the "descent" of the god Vishnu into earthly form, as for instance Rama* and Krishna. In the margin is the formula *avyaktiya-namni** or "in the name of the unlimited," the mint town, and the date, given as *tajikiyena* samvata* 418,* "418 in the Arab era."[223] It is hard to do more than wonder at the theological originality of equating the Prophet with the *avatar** of Vishnu, since it is impossible to extrapolate any religious policy from this brief motto. Still, it seems unmistakable that Mahmud* meant by this coin that his Sanskrit-reading subjects should have some officially sanctioned means of recognizing his authority in terms familiar from their own tradition. While no later coin contains anything as remarkable as

this Sanskrit version of thc Islamic profession of faith, Sanskrit continued to be used by many Turkish, Afghan, and Mughul rulers of northern India up through the seventeenth century. [224] Sometimes the Sanskrit simply gave the name of the ruler, but most often it gave the hybrid title Sri* Hamir* (based on the Arabic *amir**). A number of these coins from the sultanate period give the name of the `Abbasid* caliph as well. The mixture of Indian and Islamic language and symbolism in the coins of these Muslim rulers suggests that they wished to present their regimes to some extent as fulfilling Indian norms of legitimate government in addition to Islamic ones.

Indians expected Muslim sultans to extend patronage to all religions like any other legitimate Indian sovereign. A seventeenth-century Assamese chronicle gives a mythical account of thc origins of the Delhi sultanate that shows the first sultan's deliberate assumption of this royal responsibility. The chronicle, entitled *Badshahi Buranji,* was written by an anonymous author between 1663 and 1685. It is impossible to tell whether the author was a Hindu or a Muslim, since the text shows equal familiarity with the Assamese vocabulary of Vaisnava* devotionalism and the Persian terminology of the Mughul court.[225] The text relates how the great king Rungaddin was born, thanks to the blessing of a Sufi saint, to Muhammad* Shah* of Nako, who traces his ancestry back to the Indian epic heroes of the Mahabharata*. After conquering the king of Rum (Anatolia), Rungaddin turned to Delhi, where he battled Pithor Raj for the throne of India. Pithor Raja (the same Prithvi Raj made famous in the Rajput bardic tales) died accidentally on his own sword, and his wives were consumed on the funeral pyre in accordance with Rajput tradition. So far the mythical Rungaddin has entered into the heroic cycle on terms familiar to the epic poems. After his victory, Rungaddin consulted with Sarbabhaum-Chandra, "the family priest of the late King Pithor Raja," about the religious policy he is to follow.[226] The priest replied, "O Padshah*, what shall I say? You are yourself acquainted with all laws and traditions. God has created the nations of the earth in separate groups, each different from the other; and He has not provided uniform customs and religions for all. If the different castes and creeds are protected, God will protect you also, and you will be able to remain at Delhi without any trouble or fear." The king therefore announced, "The laws and traditions which existed before will remain unaltered." Investigating "matters relating to the sacred shrines of Musalmans and Hindus" then becomes his chief business every Thursday.[227] The story of Rungaddin, through its reinterpretation of the fall of Prithvi Raj, cleverly resolves the tensions created by Muslim rule in India. It acts as a foundational myth, and legitimizes the authority of the new emperor, first by his fictitious Indian ancestry, and then by his acceptance of the Brahman priest's advice to take on the religious duties of an Indian sovereign. Here also the sultan has been assimilated to the Indian norm.

The authority of the sultans, too, had its impact on Indian political think-

ing. [228]The story of the foundation of the Vijayanagar* empire has been often told, how the two Hindu soldiers Bukka and Harihara* joined the Turks after the defeat of the Hindu kings of the Deccan, becoming Muslims in the process. As the seventeenth-century historian Firishta tells the tale, they seized the opportunity created by the breakup of the Delhi sultanate, apostatized from Islam, and founded the city of Vijayanagar* as the center of a revived Hindu empire. Vasundhara Filliozat's publication of the earliest inscriptions of Vijayanagar* shows that Bukka had adopted the title "sultan" along with the customary titles of Indian kingship. The complete phrase in which the term "sultan" occurs, in inscriptions dated from 1354 to 1369, is a peculiar one (*himdurayasuratrana**, five times with slight variations). Filliozat has, with some uncertainty, translated the compound in three different ways: "sultan of the Hindu kings" (three times), "protector of the gods for the Hindu kings," and "sultan of the kings of the lunar family" (from Indu, a name of the moon god Soma, claimed as the ancestor of the Vijayanagar* kings).[229] If a founder of Vijayanagar* intended to call himself "sultan of the Hindu kings," it meant that he recognized the Turkish perspective as significant—he adopted with pride not only the title used by the alien conqueror, but also the term that the conqueror had employed for the once subject people. These inscriptions, from rulers who had spent time in the Turkish court, may well be the earliest uses of the term "Hindu" in an Indian source.

The interplay between religion and political authority in medieval India was extraordinarily complex, and Muslims and Hindus recognized this. Muslim rulers saw the importance that temples could have as counters in the game of political supremacy. In a struggle with Afghans and the Qutbshahis* over the territory of Orissa, the Mughuls used the temple of Puri in order to secure their own dominance. Although the Afghans had attempted to stake their claim by permitting the rebuilding of the temple in 1591, the Mughul general Man* Singh (himself a devotee of Vishnu) claimed Puri for the Mughuls and personally did pilgrimage there to set up the conditions for the eventual Mughul takeover.

By 1633, it was observed that a Mughul official would help lead the procession of the festival at Purl, since it was a considerable source of revenue through the pilgrim tax. Awrangzib's* policies did not substantially change this situation, since many new temples were built in Puri even while a few were destroyed for symbolic purposes.[230] Turkish raids on temples became part of later political symbolism in temple chronicles. Now temple restoration and reconsecration became an action of political legitimation for the new Hindu dynasties that arose in southern India, as they took control of the remnants of the overextended Tughluq empire. Malik Kafur's* raids on the temples of Srirangam* and Madura in 1327 were recorded in temple chronicles as a catastrophe. Using epic and heroic imagery, Tamil and Sanskrit sources depict the subsequent reconquest and reconsecration of these temples late in the

fourteenth century as a triumph for the new dynasty of Gingee. [231] The Muslim intrusion was now an integral part of the temple's legitimation of the Hindu ruler.

Political and administrative continuities linked the Delhi sultanate to the traditional Indian regimes that preceded it as well as to its successors. These links are much stronger than the conventional distinction of "Islamic" from "Hindu" governments would indicate. In all these regimes, the notion of legitimacy and patronage worked in a similar fashion, whether in ancient Hindu polity, under the sultans and padshahs, or later on under the Marathas and the Sikhs. Muslim rulers favored Islamic religious establishments, and sometimes enforced disabilities on non-Muslims such as pilgrimage taxes, but the political realities of legitimation required some patronage of non-Muslim institutions as well. The religious basis of the state was not by any means as narrowly construed as it is today, in modern religious nationalism. The system established by the sultans was basically, in André Wink's phrase, "the new bureaucratic grid superimposed on the pattern of vested rights by the Muslim conquerors."[232] Although theorists like Barani* (and his modern counterparts) posited an absolute collision between an exclusive Islam and an abstract Hinduism, in practice the Indo-Muslim polity was a much more complex, multilayered society.

Sultanate and Caliphate

In Sunni* theory, the caliphate (*khilafat**) was the supreme Islamic political authority, constituted as the legitimate succession to the political office of the Prophet Muhammad*. The question of the orientation of the sultanate toward the `Abbasid* caliphate also needs to be answered, as an index of the interest of the sultans in having an Islamic foundation for their rule. Given the dominance of Iranism at the Turkish court, and the effective impotence of caliphal recognition, why, then, did seven of the Delhi sultans apparently rule in the name of the caliph? Iltutmish sought recognition from the caliph al-Mustansir*, who sent the Indian-born *hadith** scholar Hasan* Saghani* to present his investiture in 626/1229.[233] His next three successors had reigns too brief to consolidate their power, but `Ala'* al-Din* Mahmud* (r. 639/1242 to 644/1246) minted coins in the name of the reigning caliph al-Musta`sim* (r. 1242-58). Oddly enough, after the fall of Baghdad in 1258, Balban continued to mint coins and read the Friday public sermon (*khutba**) in the deceased caliph's name. In the same way, the independent Muslim sultans of Bengal still minted coins in the name of the last `Abbasid* caliph after 1258.[234] The next two sultans of Delhi, who reigned to 689/1290, and the founder of the Khalji* dynasty Jalal* al-Din* Firuz* (r. to 695/1296), all issued coins in the name of the deceased al-

Mus`tasim *.[235] Although `Ala'* al-Din* Khalji* was not interested in this form of protective symbolism, Sultan Muhammad* ibn Tughluq had begun correspondence with the caliph as early as 731/1330-31. He became seriously interested in the authority of the "captive" caliph in Cairo during the difficult period beginning about 1339. In coins dated 742, 743, and 744, he used the name of the recently deceased caliph al-Mustakfi* Billah* (d. 740/1339-40), with the curious motto, "May God make his Caliphate abide for ever."[236] Sultan Muhammad* ibn Tughluq then applied for and received a formal document from the new caliph al-Hakim* II in 744/1343, and yearly thereafter.[237] Firuz* Shah* Tughluq (r. 752/1351-790/1388) also received this caliphal investiture.[238] Were not all these statements of caliphal authority simply attempts to put the sultanate on a religious footing?

The symbol of caliphal recognition, had considerable political importance in the Delhi sultanate, but it was not so much an appeal for recognition by pious Muslims as it was a challenge to the Mongol claim to world domination. To be sure, in the case of Sultan Muhammad* ibn Tughluq, it has been convincingly argued that his approach to the nominal `Abbasid* caliph was a countermeasure against the resistance of the `ulama'* to his policies, designed to show him as the faithful upholder of the heir of the Prophet.[239] Firuz* Shah* too wished to gain this sort of religious respectability, which was thoroughly in consonance with his abolition of non-*shari`a** practices at court and his energetic sponsorship of the study of Islamic law. But the earlier Turkish sultans were far more concerned with the threat of the Mongols than with satisfying the religious classes in their own domains, and this political factor continued throughout the Tughluq period. Chingiz* Khan* himself had reached the Indus in 1221, and the Mongol armies continued to pose a serious threat to northern India for many years. And it was Chingiz* Khan's* putative descendant Timur* (Tamerlane) who finally gave the coup de grace to the tottering Tughluq dynasty when he sacked Delhi in 1398. The Turks for their part were quite familiar with the Mongols' conviction that God had awarded them world sovereignty. The caliphate was the supreme political symbol of the Islamic *shari`a**, and was thus the only Islamic legitimating factor that could challenge Mongol world rule. The caliphal investiture of Iltutmish in 1226, and even more so the minting of coins in the name of the dead caliph after 1258, were not merely events controlled by the dead hand of tradition.[240] They were direct affronts to the supremacy of the Mongol khans*, proclaiming that the authority of the Delhi sultanate was guaranteed by the successors of the Prophet.[241]

The historian Minhaj-i* Siraj* reported that in 658/1260 Sultan Nasir* al-Din* Mahmud* entertained Chingiz* Khan's* grandson Hulagu* at an imperial reception, not long after Hulagu's* extirpation of the caliphate; in a calculated move, the sultan's golden throne was decorated with "the caliphal seat" (*masnad-i khalifati**) to advertise pointedly Delhi's challenge to the Mongols, and

Minhaj-i * Siraj* celebrated the occasion with a suitable poem celebrating the Delhi world ruler's triumph over the khan* in religious terms: "Congratulations to Islam for this feast of the world's king; from this adornment India became much sweeter than China."[242] As late as 1404, Muslim advisers to Timur's* grandson Pir* Muhammad* urged him to stake his claim as emperor by obtaining caliphal recognition from Cairo, and so jettison the Mongol traditions. This alternative had little attraction, however, for the heirs of the khan* who had destroyed the last of the `Abbasid* caliphs.[243]

With Barani's* description of the world-conquering mentality in mind, it is instructive to return to Sultan Muhammad* ibn Tughluq's investiture from the powerless `Abbasid* caliph in Cairo, and examine his court poet's treatment of this event as an imperial triumph. The easy coexistence of the motifs of Persian kingship alongside the Islamic symbolism of the caliphate shows a shrewd appreciation for the public relations value of both sets of images, and a lack of concern for any possible conflict between the two. Here are some salient verses from the ode (*qasida**) that Badr-i Chach* composed to celebrate the caliph's conferral of the title of "emperor" (*padshah**) on Muhammad* ibn Tughluq:

Last night when the [black] clothing of the house of `Abbas came from Syria and reached the emperor who chose the orient sky for his parasol [i.e., when night eclipsed the sun, a poetic metaphor for the time of arrival of the caliph's emissary in the Tughluq court],

Saturn said to Jupiter, "When the letter of oath from Khusraw came as a petition before the throne, the caliph did it honor."

When he became aware Of its contents, the imam's command was this: "May his commands govern the land assignment (*iqta`**) of the seven climes,

"Let his throne be from Jamshid's* brow, his carpet from the solar crown, his standard eternal felicity, his title `Sultan of the days.'"

For the minister of the king's realm [Muhammad* ibn Tughluq], his majesty's [the caliph's] mercy was this: "Let his pens' writ run over land and sea."

For the kitchen of his [the sultan's] glory, the imam of the realm decreed, "Let the cash of this world and the next be his fortieth portion of charity."

The Commander of the Faithful ordered, "Let him be proclaimed to the seven climes every Friday from the pulpit (*minbar*) as Emperor of Islam."

May the quilt of life adorn his breast, the sultan's crown his head, heaven be at his throne's foot, angels in his retainers' ranks.

Know that a Badr-i Chach * is a sweet-spoken slave at this door, if the Khusraw of the world names him "the pride of time."[244]

This poem shows all the blissful confusion of symbols that characterized the conventions of world empire in the Delhi sultanate. Badr-i Chach* puts the caliph in the position of the religious leader (imam) who is able to confer on the sultan the position of world ruler, cloaked in Islamic religious language. The caliph's utter powerlessness to enforce his position evidently does not deter him from awarding the seven climes to the sultan as a land revenue assignment, according to the traditional princely method of rewarding ministers and subordinates. Nonetheless, despite the Islamic veneer, the underlying meaning of the sultanate is still the ancient Persian concept of world empire. The poet's references to Islamic religious charities, Friday sermons, angels, and the like, are only introduced as parts of poetical conceits exalting the sultan's authority over the world. The cosmic symbolism (sun, planets, heavens, climes), court ritual (parasol, throne, crown, door), and the names of ancient Persian kings (Khusraw, Jamshid*), all blatantly proclaim Sultan Muhammad* ibn Tughluq's attainment of world empire according to the Persian model.

Many more examples of this kind could be produced from the fulsome and bombastic panegyrics of Badr-i Chach*, whose odes, nearly all in praise of the same sultan, fill more than a hundred pages in the lithograph edition.[245] It may be doubted, however, whether sultan Muhammad* ibn Tughluq listened to each and every line of these repetitions of poems in his praise. He was interested only in the main point. Once another court poet, Jamal* al-Din*, began to recite an ode to the sultan, beginning with this verse: "God, as long as the world lasts, watch over this world-keeper (*jahanban**): Muhammad* Shah* Tughluq, son of Tughluq, son of the Sultan!" When the poet pronounced this opening line, the sultan stopped him, saying he would not be able to reward the rest of the verses adequately. As it was, he gave the poet a pile of gold as high as his head.[246] The plain assurance of his divine right to eternal world dominion was what the sultan wanted to hear. Badr-i Chach* probably received a fitting reward as well.

The Tughluqs' manipulation of the symbolism of the caliphate was thus part of a long tradition of imperial political policy, and it did not matter much whether one claimed to have the support of the caliph, or whether one claimed to be the caliph himself. For a poet like Amir* Khusraw, the title of caliph had been simply one more epithet to use in praising kings, and he had applied it to Qutb* al-Din* Mubarak* Khalji* and Ghiyas* al-Din* Tughluq without worrying about the `Abbasid* pretender.[247] He was simply following the lead of the sultans; Qutb* al-Din* Mubarak* even issued coins proclaiming himself "Vicegerent (*Khalifa**) of the Lord of Creation.[248]

The idea of caliphal investiture as a source of authority now began to appeal to Deccani rebels as the Delhi empire crumbled. They too made contact with the `Abbasid * caliph, and bought their own diplomas of investiture to persuade sultan Muhammad* ibn Tughluq to keep from trying to reconquer them. This appears to have happened in the breakaway kingdom of Ma`bar in the far south, which had been independent since 1335. There, sultan Nasir* al-Din* Mahmud* Damghan* Shah*, in a coin of 745/1344-45, claimed to be "helper of the Commander of the Faithful," a phrase that could only mean he sought investiture from the caliph.[249] The panegyrist of the first Bahmani* sultan, `Isami*, in 751/1350-51, went to the extent of calling his patron the rightful caliph (*khalifa* bar haqq**).[250] At his coronation, the first Bahmani* sultan also adopted the black parasol of the `Abbasid* caliphs as part of his court ritual.[251] Later, however, the second Bahmani* sultan, Muhammad* (r. 759/1358-776/1375), sent the queen mother on a state pilgrimage to Mecca, during which she obtained investiture and appropriate symbols from the `Abbasid* caliph in Egypt. According to a contemporary source, the explicit purpose of this gesture was to keep future sultans of Delhi from attempting to reconquer the Deccan.[252] The caliph notified Firuz* Shah* in Delhi that the Deccan had been properly awarded to the Bahmanis, so Firuz* Shah*, eager to retain his own caliphal investiture, never troubled the Bahmanis*. For all the pious posturing, though, caliphal symbolism was only useful as a support for kingship.

Sultanate Imperialism and Sufism

The Sufi movement had existed in tension with the emerging monarchical structure of the sultanate ever since the Seljuk Turks had come to power as protectors of the caliph in the late eleventh century. Sufis both supported the sultans as the theoretical upholders of Islamic law and questioned them as rulers whose morals and legitimacy might be doubtful in practice. Sultans in turn had made state patronage of Sufis as a cornerstone of policy. In the polity of the sultans of Delhi, Sufis formed a disparate but recognizable political group, alongside others such as the military, the Turkish nobility, and the religious scholars. From time to time alliances occurred between Sufi and sultan, while just as often conflicts arose. Yet the tension between the two never disappeared.

I propose; as a methodological principle, that it is essential to classify correctly literary accounts, especially when they obliterate the tension between Sufis and sultans; proper classification is just as important for individual stories as for entire works. Narratives that show Sufi saints giving limitless praise of the virtue and wisdom of rulers are no different from political panegyric, whether they occur in royal chronicles or hagiographies.[253] They

must therefore be examined in terms of the political objectives of the author, which may be quite different from the political context of the Sufis being described. The same question can be raised about Sufi writings dedicated to kings, in what amounts to an interference of royal motives. The tension between saintly and royal hagiographies comes out in the open when conflicting accounts, of the same event from different literary genres are set side by side. On the other extreme, hagiographies that show Sufis humbling or destroying impious kings with their miraculous powers may be considered pardonable attempts to achieve just restitution through the imagination. To this category belong the martyrologies that depict, for example, the sack of Delhi by Timur * in 1398 as divine punishment for Firuz* Shah* Tughluq's execution of two would-be Sufis.[254] This type of hagiography is a testimony to saintly power rather than a journalistic report on day-to-day events, so it is a much better guide to popular attitudes toward sainthood than it is to royal policy. In short, identifying genre is the first task in studying Sufi literature.

The problem of tension between Sufis and sultans may be illustrated by Barani's* relationship with Sufism. It is no exaggeration to say that Barani's* ideas were opposed to Sufi views on politics, even among those Sufis who accommodated royalty in their treatises. Writing a "mirror for princes" during the Seljuk period, a Sufi-minded theologian like al-Ghazali* did not attempt to provide an Islamic religious or mystical basis for politics, and contented himself with an exposition of the Persian royal tradition, yet he did uphold ethical standards.[255] Sufi writers of the post-Mongol period had written political treatises that glorified monarchy as equal to or even superior to prophecy. Najm al-Din* Razi* (d. 654/1256) wrote that the just king is the true vice-gerent of God, and manifests the divine attributes of lordship.[256] Likewise Husayn* Wa`iz* Kashifi* (d. 910/1504-05) in the *Akhlaq-i* Muhsini** (*Muhsinian ethics*) rated kingship as equal in some respects to prophethood.[257] Although these Sufi and Sufi-influenced writers used concepts of royalty similar to Barani's*, there was a great distance separating their insistence on ethical behavior from Barani's* Machiavellian amoralism. The Sufi shaykh `Ali* Hamadani* (d. 786/1385), in his *Nasihat* al-muluk** (*Advice for kings*), was strict in demanding that kings follow the example of the Prophet and the first four caliphs; he would not have tolerated Barani's* pragmatic concept of following royal customs that systematically infringed upon Islamic law.[258] Barani's* elevation of kingship above Islamic law and ethics in the name of Islamic imperialism destroyed the independent authority of religion, at the same time making Sufism irrelevant.

Barani* himself was a lay disciple of Nizam* al-Din* Awliya'*. Chishti* circles in Delhi generously viewed Barani's* last years of poverty in exile from court as his deliberate choice of the dervish life.[259] Barani's* writings, as discussed above, nonetheless show that he had learned little from the Chishti* masters; the royal glory that he admired so much they treated with the healthy

respect one gives to a large and unpredictable animal. [260] Barani's* distortion of Sufi teachings on politics and ethics is particularly clear in his account of the meeting between the `Abbasid* caliph Harun* al-Rashid* and the Sufi ascetic Fuzayl* ibn `Iyaz*. In Barani's* version, the caliph went to see the ascetic to ask how to compensate for the sins he had committed as a ruler. Fuzayl* was very reassuring, and told Harun* that God would forgive his sins and even make the kingdom prosper as long as his faith was sound and his intentions pure.[261] The versions of this encounter in classical Sufi literature are quite different. Sufi authorities are agreed that Fuzayl* gave the caliph such a stiff lecture on the pains he would undoubtedly suffer in hell fire that the caliph finally fainted and had to be carried away.[262] The inconsistency between the two narratives should not merely lead to the conclusion that one is right and the other wrong. Barani's* variance from the standard Sufi story had a contemporary political significance. It was Muhammad* ibn Tughluq's policy to employ Sufis as members of his administration, whether they liked it or not, and Barani* by this anecdote indicated his approval of this policy.[263] He used Mahmud* of Ghazna (and here Harun* al-Rashid*) as symbols of ideal royal behavior, and Fuzayl* ibn `Iyaz*, a member of the Chishti* initiatic lineage, was to represent the proper behavior of the mystics. Observing the degree of tension between Sufis and sultans, and identifying the dominant historiographical genres, are interpretive tactics that are crucial to the understanding of the sources on Indo-Muslim history.

4
The Textual Formation of Oral Teachings in the Early Chishti * Order

The historical formation of Sufism in India is a process that has taken centuries, and its origins are available to us only through a series of later reconstructions. From the time of Hujwiri* (d. 1074), the northwestern cities of India were home to a number of Sufis, though Hujwiri* is one of the few whose writings have come down to us. Later tradition records that in the late twelfth century, when most of the great Sufi orders began to crystalize in different parts of the Islamic world, the Chishti* order first became established in India. Probably the most popular order in the subcontinent, the Chishtiyya originated in the town of Chisht in Afghanistan. Although later authors such as Jami* (d. 1492) tell stories of the early Sufis of Chisht, the first Chishtis* themselves wrote nothing, nor do contemporary witnesses tell us anything of their lives.[264] Even in the case of Mu`in* al-Din* Chishti* (d. ca. 1233), whom tradition identifies as the founder of the Indian Chishtiyya, in order to find any connected written account of him we must wait until the fourteenth century, when the Chishti* order suddenly reveals itself in a full-blown literary tradition written in Persian.

The oral teachings of the Chishtis*, as revealed in the "oral discourses" (*malfuzat**) literature, took on a canonical textual form that soon became the authoritative and normative genre both for members of the order and for their lay followers. The transition from oral to written form was reflected in diverse literary styles adapted to different audiences. Modem critical debates about the authenticity of some of the Chishti* *malfuzat** have put into prominence the question of the Chishti* canon, yet the imposition of Western models of literary criticism needs to be supplemented by attention to the elaboration of internal critical categories that help explain the textual mediation of mystical Islam in India.

From Oral Teaching to Written Text In Sufism

The explosion of Sufi literary activity in India in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries had a powerful formative effect on Indian Sufism. The widespread Suhrawardi * order, which came from Baghdad, boasted outstanding mystical writers in its Indian branch, such as Qazi* Hamid* al-Din* Nagawri* (d. 1244), who wrote sophisticated meditations on the ninety-nine names of God and on mystical love.[265] While the Chishtis* did not at first express themselves in writing, they eventually produced a broader and more sustained literary tradition than any other Indian Sufi order. Neither Mu`in* al-Din* Chishti* nor his two main successors, Qutb* al-Din* Bakhtiyar* Kaki* (d. 1235) and Farid* al-Din* "Ganj-i Shakkar" (d. 1265), wrote any books (the spurious discourses attributed to them are discussed below). The first generations of Indian Chishtis* continued to emphasize oral instruction, although masters such as Farid* al-Din* also taught standard Arabic works on religion and mysticism, such as the *`Awarif* al-ma`arif** of Shihab* al-Din* Suhrawardi*. Yet in the next generation, the Chishti* master Nizam'* al-Din Awliya'* (d. 1325) made such a profound effect on his contemporaries that a new genre of literature, the *malfuzat**, emerged to embody his teachings.

In theory, the *malfuzat** was as close as one could get in words to the actual presence of the Sufi master. Although the authors of the *malfuzat** texts did not actually take dictation at the time when the master was speaking, they typically tried to write out his talks from memory as soon as a daily session ended, and in some cases they had the good fortune to have their work corrected by the master. Nonetheless, in the act of rewriting the master's words, the writer inevitably exercised some kind of selection and interpretation, and so produced a narrative structure depicting the Sufi teaching from a particular point of view. This combination of oral transmission and narrative recasting naturally had precedents in Sufi tradition. By the tenth century, the collecting of Sufi biographical dictionaries, with emphasis on sayings, had become an established category in Arabic religious literature; Sufi hagiography insofar as it stressed sayings was basically an outgrowth of the *hadith** literature, which collected the sayings of the Prophet Muhammad*.[266]

Oral traditions from several outstanding personalities in the early Sufi movement, such as Abu* Yazid* and al-Hallaj*, were collected in Arabic in monograph form; typically these traditions were related as disconnected episodes, often introduced (as in *hadith**) by the chain of transmitters (*isnad**).[267] In Persian the first monographic Sufi biographies concern Abu* Sa`id* ibn Abi* al-Khayr (d. 1049). His two biographies, written by his descendants some one hundred to one hundred fifty years after his death, narrate a long series of incidents that reveal his actions and sayings as a Sufi teacher.[268] Other works,

no longer extant, recorded the sayings of Abu * Sa'id* from two hundred different "sessions" (*majalis**), and Abu* Sa`id's* contemporary al-Qushayri* is said to have recorded the sessions of his teacher Abu* `Ali* al-Daqqaq*.[269] Disciples also preserved the oral discourses of some Iranian Sufis of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, such as Jalal* al-Din* Rumi* (d. 1273).[270] In India, however, the *malfuzat** quickly became a dominant literary form for the transmission of Sufi teaching, so that later generations of Indian Sufis found it almost indispensable to commit their discourses into this textual mold.

How accurate is the *malfuzat** literature as a written record of oral teaching, and what criteria should be used to analyze it? The early Iranian Sufi biographies illustrate the same problem that occurs in the Indian *malfuzat** texts. In the case of the sayings of Abu* Sa`id*, the modern Iranian literary critic Bahar* believes that, on linguistic grounds alone, these sayings as recorded in his biographies must be considered a fairly accurate record of the actual words of the shaykh:

> The Sufis preserved the words of their saints, as the *hadith** reports have to be preserved, word by word and letter by letter, and they permitted little change or interpolation in them. The credibility of some of the sentences and terms and their chain of transmission and correctness is such that no room remains for doubt or denial.... The style of *Asrar** *al-tawhid** in its totality, i.e., from the viewpoint of grammar and syntax, is without the slightest discrepancy equivalent to the style of the Samanids*.[271]

This general observation on style and language is valuable and doubtless accurate as far as it goes, but it unfortunately does not shed any light on the process of literary composition that gave the text its form. To say that the compilers of hagiographical texts used the method of *hadith** reporting glosses over two separate problems. First, the *hadith** literature has its own historiography and redactions, raising questions concerning the transition from oral to written form and canon formation. Regrettably, most discussions of *hadith** tend toward extremes, as traditionalists assert its absolute authority while modernists and some Western scholars reject it altogether on hypercritical grounds. Second, the interval of three to four generations between Abu* Sa`id's* death and the writing of his biographies raises the question of how his sayings were chosen and preserved, and to what end. We may legitimately ask, too, about the political background of the biographies of Abu* Sa`id*, since the *Asrar** *al-tawhid** was the first Sufi biography dedicated to a ruling monarch, in this case the Ghurid sultan Muhammad* ibn Sam* (d. 1203).[272] The question of reliability, which tends to dominate critical discussions, should yield to the analysis of oral and written styles, canonical function, literary composition, and audience, as the basis for study of *malfuzat** texts.

The Foundation of the Chishti * Malfuzat* Literature: Nizam* al-Din*

The development of the Chishti* *malfuzat** literature may be sketched in two stages. First it is necessary to describe the discourses of Nizam* al-Din* Awliya'* and compare them with those of his two disciples Nasir* al-Din* Mahmud* Chiragh-i Dihli* (d. 1356) and Burhan* al-Din* Ghari'b* (d. 1337). These texts may be called, for convenience, the "original" *malfuzat**. The prominence of the first two of these texts among the many *malfuzat** is evident in the fact that they are the only ones to have been published in modern critical editions, and only Nizam* al-Din's* has been translated into English.[273] The discourses of Burhan* al-Din* and his successor Zayn al-Din* are preserved in several unedited texts, which up to now have received hardly any attention from scholars. An analysis of these texts, which form the basis for the study of the Sufis of Khuldabad, considerably adds to our understanding of the development of the *malfuzat** literature. Next, these "original" texts, all written by literate and courtly disciples, may be juxtaposed with another series of *malfuzat** purporting to be dictated by the principal Chishti* shaykhs to their successors, illustrating the main line of initiatic authority in the order. These "retrospective" texts, the authenticity of which has been challenged, stressed the hagiographic mode of personal charisma and authority, while the "original" ones focused on the teaching element consisting of practice and speculation, but all the *malfuzat** texts made the person of the Sufi master an essential part of the teaching.

The recording of the oral teachings of Nizam* al-Din* Awliya'* was evidently the spontaneous decision of his disciple, the poet Amir* Hasan* Sijzi* Dihlawi* (1253-1336). Beginning in 1307, until 1322, Hasan* recorded as much as he could of his teacher's conversations, whenever leisure from his official duties as court poet permitted him leave in Delhi. The resulting book is called *Fawa'id* al-fu'ad** (*Morals of the heart*).[274] Hasan* was a skilled and eloquent poet in Persian; his poetic output includes several hundred lyric poems (*ghazals*) as well as panegyric odes (*qasidas**) addressed to the sultans of Delhi.[275] Although much of his poetry was of the standard erotic type popular at court, Hasan* also injected the symbolism of Sufism into his verse. Mir* Khwurd called him "Amir* Hasan* `Ala'* Sijzi*, whose burning lyrics brought forth the fire of love from the flint of lovers' hearts, whose pleasing verses conveyed solace to the hearts of the eloquent, and whose invigorating subtleties are the sustenance of the discerning."[276]

*Fawa'id** *al-fu'ad** is a beautifully written account of the Sufi teaching of Nizam* al-Din*, and it is certainly one of the most popular Sufi works in India.

It was some time before Hasan * revealed to Nizam* al-Din* that he was recording the conversations in the shaykh's circle:

> It is more than a year that I have been connected to my master, and every time that I have had the happiness of kissing your feet, I have heard useful morals (*fawa'id**) from your pearl-bearing speech: sometimes preaching, advice, and encouragement of virtue, and sometimes stories of the shaykhs and their states; on every subject your inspiring words have reached the writer's hearing. I have wanted that to be the model for this helpless one's state, or rather the guide of the path for this wretch. I have written it down to the best of my understanding, inasmuch as your blessed speech has frequently mentioned that one ought to keep before one's eyes the books of the masters and the indications that they have made about the spiritual path. Since no collection can be superior to the refreshing sayings of my master, for this reason I have collected whatever I have heard from your blessed speech. Until this time I have not revealed it, and I [now] await your command.[277]

On hearing this declaration, Nizam* al-Din* replied that, when he had attended upon his own master Shaykh Farid* al-Din*, he too had formed the resolve to write down his teacher's sayings; he still vividly recalled the Persian verse with which Farid* al-Din* had first greeted him:

> The fire of separation from you has burnt up hearts, the flood of longing for you has laid souls waste!

Hasan*, greatly affected, was momentarily overcome by the attempt to express his own feelings. But then Nizam* al-Din* requested him to show some samples of his notes, which fortunately Hasan* had brought along. The shaykh complimented Hasan* on his writing, but was puzzled by several blank spots in the manuscript. Hasan* explained that those were places where he did not know the rest of the words—that is, his memory was not clear about those points. Nizam* al-Din* then graciously told him what was missing, so that the account became complete.[278] This tender exchange between master and disciple illustrates Hasan's* purpose in writing *Fawa'id* al-fu'ad**: just as Nizam* al-Din* had previously urged reading the classical writings of the Sufi shaykhs along with religious ritual and worship,[279] so now Hasan* wrote his diary as an evocation of his master's presence as well as his teaching.

Several years later, another conversation took place between Hasan* Sijzi* and Nizam* al-Din* that underlined the role of the *malfuzat** as a nearly sacred text that served as a religious standard. When Hasan* brought out the completed first volume of *Fawa'id* al-fu'ad**, Nizam* al-Din* read it over with approval, saying, "You have written well, you have written like a dervish, and you have also given it a good name." The shaykh "in connection with this

state" went on to make lengthy comments about the sayings of the Prophet Muhammad * as recorded by his associates, implicitly suggesting a comparison between Hasan's* rendering of his own conversations and the collection of the prophetic *hadith** literature. Such was the devotion of Abu* Hurayra toward the Prophet, he noted, that Abu* Hurayra, despite knowing the Prophet only three years, managed to transmit more *hadith** than all the other companions put together; it was his concentration on the person of the Prophet that enabled Abu* Hurayra to remember all those *hadith**. Nizam* al-Din* said that the Prophet told Abu* Hurayra to extend the skirt of his garment whenever the Prophet spoke, slowly gather in the garment when the words were finished, and place his hand upon his breast; this routine would enable him to memorize Muhammad's* words.[280] Nizam* al-Din* laid particular stress on Abu* Hurayra's collection of religious knowledge, but he explicitly extended it to encompass mystical knowledge.[281] As the *hadith** conveys ethical and ritual norms to the Muslim community, so the *malfuzat** now establish the principles of mysticism. In both cases the focus upon the personal source of the teaching is an essential part of the disciple's ability to remember the teacher's words, to preserve them for himself and others. In this way the Sufi *malfuzat** function as a parallel to the primary canon of Islam, the Qur'an* and *hadith**.

The success of *Fawa'id** *al-fu'ad** as an exposition of Chishti* Sufism was tremendous. The court historian Barani*, in an oft-quoted passage, has recorded the popularity of *Fawa'id** *al-fu'ad** as an instance of the great influence that Nizam* al-Din* exerted over the whole population of Delhi:

> Owing to the influence of the Shaikh, most of the Mussalmans of this country developed interest in mysticism, prayers, and aloofness from the world, and came to have a faith in the Shaikh. The hearts of men having become virtuous by good deeds, the very name of wine, gambling, and other forbidden things never came to anyone's lips .... Most of the scholars and learned men, who frequented the Shaikh's company, applied themselves to books on devotion and mysticism. The books *Qut-u'l-Qulub, Ihya-u'l-`Ulum* [etc.] ... found many purchasers, as also did the *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad* of Amir Hasan owing to the sayings of the Shaikh which it contains.[282]

While Barani's* account of the mystical and religious inclinations of the Muslim populace is perhaps exaggerated, it does testify to the extraordinary respect that Nizam* al-Din* commanded among the people.

What were the reasons for the popularity of *Fawa'id** *al-fu'ad**? The book's popularity was doubtless a measure of Hasan* Dihlawi's* success in evoking the presence of Nizam* al-Din*. The skilled pen of this poet, combined with the close relationship between master and disciple, made *Fawa'id** *al-fu'ad** an effective presentation of the teaching relationship in the Chishti* order. While

*Fawa'id * al-fu'ad** inspired a host of imitations, few of these survive. Four other disciples of Nizam* al-Din* compiled his *malfuzat**, but only one of these texts, "an inferior work," can still be found in manuscript.[283] In addition, the contents of Nizam* al-Din's* teachings were in this way made available to a wide public, so that the book in reality became "the guide of the path" for many, as Hasan* had hoped.

A recent Urdu biography of Hasan* stresses the significance of *Fawa'id* al-fu'ad** for its original audience in terms of explaining Islamic religious duties in detail, clarifying problems of mystical practice, and rejecting and correcting ethically dubious customs and traditions.[284] In modern times, scholars have, in contrast, valued this important *malfuzat** text less for its religious contents than for its historical value, as a corrective to the exclusively dynastic focus of the court historians. As K. A. Nizami observed:

> Through these records of conversations we can have a glimpse of the medieval society, in all its fullness, if not in all its perfection—the moods and tensions of the common man, the inner yearnings of his soul, the religious thought at its higher and lower levels, the popular customs and manners and above [all] the problems of the people. There is no other type of literature through which we can feel the pulse of the medieval public.[285]

The *malfuzat** texts certainly do throw light on aspects of social history that are ignored in dynastic chronicles, but the main reason for their initial popularity is the success with which they have expounded and evoked the Sufi teaching.

The Elaboration of the Malfuzat* Tradition: Chiragh-i* Dihli*

With Nizam* al-Din's* successor in Delhi, Nasir* al-Din* Mahmud* "Chiragh-i* Dihli*" ("the lamp of Delhi," d. 1356), the *malfuzat** took on an uneven character, derived from the contrast in temperament between the serious legal and ascetic emphasis of the shaykh and the immaturity of the compiler, Hamid* Qalandar. When Chiragh-i* Dihli* discussed topics such as fasting, Hamid* would confess his own inability to fast, and admitted his preference for composing mediocre Persian verse instead of meditating.[286] Hamid* has given an elaborate description of how the collection of *Khayr al-majalis* (The best of assemblies*) began, in 1354. After taking it upon himself to record five sessions in the circle of Chiragh-i* Dihli*, Hamid* brought his compilation and showed it to the master. Much to Hamid's* delight, Chiragh-i* Dihli* approved of it, and related a long story about the value of memorizing the words of the saints.

Typical of Chiragh-i* Dihli's* concern with the study of Islamic law, his example was drawn from the life of a legal scholar. The story concerned

Mawlana * Hamid* al-Din* Zarir* ("the blind") of Bukhara, who had memorized the Qur'an* and a text on ritual prayer before becoming a disciple of Mawlana* Shams al-Din* Gardizi*. Moving from the elementary classes to the advanced ones, Hamid* al-Din* Zarir* would sit before the master with his skirt (*daman**) extended, and at the conclusion of the lesson would gather up his skirt to his chest, as if he carried in it the literal fruit of the teacher's discourses (precisely recapitulating the technique that Nizam* al-Din* had described to Hasan* Dihlawi*, which Abu* Hurayra had used when memorizing the words of the Prophet Muhammad*). Hamid* al-Din* Zarir* eventually succeeded to his master's place and wrote famous commentaries on works of Islamic law. On hearing this story, Hamid* Qalandar took the example to heart: "I extended my skirt before the revered master, who is my teacher and instructor and leader, and asked him for a *Fatiha** for the sake of memory. I formed the intention that I would not love anyone who was not a lover and adherent of the master, nor go to such a one's place, nay, as far as possible I would not look upon his face."[287] Hamid* enthusiastically equated his own personal devotion to Chiragh-i* Dihli* with the years of scholarly apprenticeship described in the story.

We cannot be so confident, however, regarding the scholarly pretensions of Hamid* Qalandar. Hamid* has indicated that at times Chiragh-i* Dihli* took pains to correct the manuscript of *Khayr al-majalis**, even in matters of Arabic vocabulary.[288] Other disciples of Chiragh-i* Dihli* reported that when shown sections of Hamid's* compilation, the shaykh remarked that they were inaccurate, and threw them away, having no time to correct them.[289] Hasan* himself reflected that at times he did not understand the shaykh's words, but "if I do not comprehend, let me write down once what I do understand, so that it is a memorial."[290] From the "telegraphic" manner in which Chiragh-i* Dihli's* teachings are summarized in *Khayr al-majalis**, and on the basis of the apparent shortcomings of its compiler, Paul Jackson has admitted to having "very serious reservations" about the accuracy of this text as a record of the teachings of Chiragh-i* Dihli*.[291] The editor of *Khayr al-majalis**, K. A. Nizami, remarked that Hamid* Qalandar "had no real and genuine aptitude for mysticism."[292] For his own part, Hamid* Qalandar confidently compared his own compilation to *Fawa'id* al-fu'ad**, and called *Khayr al-majalis** his auspicious "religious child" that would bring him great reward.[293] Despite these strictures on his accuracy, Hamid* Qalandar's compilation is nonetheless an important link in the recording of Chishti* teachings. Some of the stories of Chiragh-i* Dihli* that he records, such as the tale of Moses and the idolater in the thirty-sixth session, demonstrate how Sufis adapted traditional materials to portray contemporary situations; in this case, the idolater addresses his deity in Hindi, making the situation much more vivid for Chiragh-i* Dihli's* listeners.[294]

More importantly from the perspective of this study, Hamid* Qalandar's work reflects from the beginning a certain tension with the *malfuzat** texts of

Burhan * al-Din* Gharib* as rivals for canonical status. The *malfuzat** texts had begun to take on the canonical function of acting as a normative text that serves as vector for religious authority as well as individualist piety.[295] The flattering tone of Hamid* Qalandar's first conversations with Chiragh-i* Dihli* suggests that one of his motives was to establish the political supremacy of Chiragh-i* Dihli* within the Chishti* succession. When Hamid* Qalandar first came into the assembly of Chiragh-i* Dihli*, it happened to be the day when the latter was celebrating the death-anniversary (*`urs*) of his old friend and fellow-disciple Burhan* al-Din* Gharib*; this would have taken place on 11 Safar* 755/7 March 1354, seventeen lunar years after the death of Burhan* al-Din* Gharib*. Hamid* Qalandar immediately introduced himself to Chiragh-i* Dihli* and informed the shaykh that he had associated with Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* in Deogir*, and that he had in fact recorded the conversations of Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* in a *malfuzat** containing twenty sessions.[296] This remark reveals how the genre of *malfuzat** had already been established as a model among the Deccan Chishtis*. The very example that Hamid* Qalandar then related from memory was Burhan* al-Din* Gharib's* account of how he had sought and received spiritual advice from Chiragh-i* Dihli* when he had lost a hat given to him by Nizam* al-Din* Awliya'*; Chiragh-i* Dihli* had emerged from a trance, and correctly predicted that Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* would receive even greater gifts from Nizam* al-Din*.[297] After hearing Hamid* Qalandar's story, Chiragh-i* Dihli* confirmed its truth, and was very happy to be reminded of this incident with his old friend after so many years (Hamid* would retell this story in more high-flown and dramatic language in the biography of Chiragh-i* Dihli* attached as a supplement to *Khayr al-majalis**, where he specifically called this event a miracle).[298]

Hamid* Qalandar further observed that Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* had great faith in Chiragh-i* Dihli*, so Hamid* as an admirer of Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* was especially eager to see a man who was even greater. Chiragh-i* Dihli's* response to this flattery was to change the subject.[299] Hamid* Qalandar at their next meeting continued in the same vein, though, saying, "Lord! Mawlana* Burhan* al-Din* was a dervish who attained union, but the revered master [Chiragh-i* Dihli*] is an Abu* Hanifa* in learning, and in asceticism and mastery is the Shaykh Nizam* al-Din* of the age. God willing, I shall record the master's sessions."[300] Nonetheless, the figure of Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* looms over the composition of *Khayr al-majalis** at the end as well as at the beginning. In the one hundredth and final session, Hamid* Qalandar reports that Chiragh-i* Dihli* told a story that Hamid* had previously heard from the lips of Burhan* al-Din* Gharib*. That very night he had a dream in which Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* appeared and announced that the book of *Khayr al-majalis** was now complete, handing a luminous copy of the book to Hamid* Qalandar.[301]

Curiously, neither Hamid* Qalandar himself nor the incident of the hat is even mentioned in any of the genuine *malfuzat** of Burhan* al-Din* Gharib*. In

fact, one of Burhan * al-Din* Gharib's* disciples pictured his relationship to Chiragh-i* Dihli* in quite the opposite fashion. Maid al-Din* `Imad* Kashani*, one of the four Kashani* brothers, took up the task of recording Burhan* al-Din* Gharib's* miracles and revelations in a work called *Ghara'ib* al-karamat* (The rare miracles*)*.[302] In this account; Maid al-Din* maintains that at their first meeting, Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* at once perceived the great spiritual potential of the youthful Chiragh-i* Dihli* and warned him to be heedful and take advantage of the guidance of Nizam* al-Din*, in this way acting as a preceptor rather than as a suppliant.[303]

Maid al-Din* also tells a story in which Chiragh-i* Dihli* states that he learned the ability to perceive the states of souls after death from Burhan* al-Din* Gharib*.[304] Hamid* Qalandar's remarks betray the competition that must have come into existence between the centers established by various disciples of Nizam* al-Din* Awliya'*; other followers of Chiragh-i* Dihli* would make deprecatory statements about Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* in later years. Regardless of the historicity of the incident of the hat, the unusual prominence of that story and Hamid* Qalandar's obsequious praise of Chiragh-i* Dihli* suggest a deliberate design to elevate the latter to a central position in the Chishti* order, at the expense of Burhan* al-Din* Gharib*. Stressing the primacy of one co-disciple over another was perhaps an inevitable result of the canonical focus on the authority of the Sufi master.

The Elaboration of the Malfuzat* Tradition: Burhan* al-Din* Gharib*

Most existing accounts of the early *malfuzat** literature have neglected the largely unpublished texts produced in the circle of Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* (d. 1337), another major disciple of Nizam* al-Din*, who led the Sufis who participated in the enforced migration of the Muslim elite of Delhi to the Deccan capital of Daulatabad in 1329. Strangely enough, there is no trace of any *malfuzat** text recording teachings by Burhan* al-Din's* brother Muntajib al-Din*, despite the latter's great popularity in the Deccan; Muntajib al-Din* is known only through legends (below, Part III, chap. 11). As we have seen, Hamid* Qalandar's account of his compilation of *Khayr al-majalis** presupposed the existence of a developed *malfuzat** tradition among the Deccan Chishtis*. With-out appreciating the wide scope of the *malfuzat** texts written in the Deccan by Burhan* al-Din* Gharib's* disciples, it is impossible to form a complete understanding of the origin of this genre of Sufi writing among the Chishtis*.

The first and perhaps most important of the *malfuzat** texts emanating from the circle of Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* also followed the model of *Fawa'id* al-fu'ad**. This was *Nafa'is* al-anfas* wa lata'if* al-alfaz** (*Choice sayings and elegant words*), compiled by Rukn al-Din* Dabir* Kashani* in forty-eight ses-

sions between Muharram * 732/October 1331 and 4 Safar* 738/1 September 1337.[305] Rukn al-Din*, as his title *dabir** indicates, was a secretary in the service of Sultan Muhammad* ibn Tughluq's administration at Daulatabad. In his preface, Rukn al-Din* remarks that in hearing the oral teachings of Burhan* al-Din* Gharib*, he had found that "no wayfarer has seen written in the writings of bygone shaykhs any of those subtleties and cyphers, nor has any seeker of truth read a word of those subjects and rarities."[306] Just as the admired Hasan* Dihlawi* (himself an emigré to Khuldabad) had collected and arranged the discourse of Nizam* al-Din* Awliya'*, now Rukn al-Din* had determined to do the same with the words of Burhan* al-Din* Gharib*, whom he addresses by the loftiest of epithets. In a style considerably more prolix than that of Hasan*, Rukn al-Din* states that the purpose of his book is to see that "speakers with the brides of the meanings of the path by this means attain the throne-place of union with the real beloved, and seekers of the maidens of the subtleties of wayfaring by reading it may gaze on and contemplate the world-adorning beauty of the essential goal of desire."[307] He therefore at the first session he recorded, proposed this project to Burhan* al-Din* Gharib*, who approved wholeheartedly, saying, "For a long time, this idea has been established in my mind," and thanking God that it had been preordained that this book should be written by Rukn al-Din*. Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* further encouraged Rukn al-Din by quoting from the poet Nizami*: "Freshen me with the heart of David, and make my psalms cry aloud." In other words, Rukn al-Din* was to proclaim like David the psalmlike words that would constitute his book.[308] Toward the end of the session, the shaykh turned to Rukn al-Din* and said, "Amir* Hasan*, who has written the *Fawa'id**, [acted] in this way: whatever tale the shaykh [Nizam* al-Din*] told, he turned toward Amir* Hasan*. He [Hasan*] wrote down whatever words were spoken." Rukn* al-Din* understood from this that he would have the great fortune to play the same role for Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* as Hasan* had been performing for Nizam* al-Din* as recently as ten years previously.[309]

As in the case of Hasan* Dihlawi*, Rukn al-Din* Kashani* was intent on accurately communicating the teachings of his master. *Nafa'is** *al-anfas** contains discussions, questions directed at Burhan* al-Din* Gharib*, stories both personal and legendary, and the explanation and performance of religious duties with an emphasis on Sufi rituals and their interpretation. While a number of famous early Sufis are mentioned, the greatest stress lies on Burhan* al-Din* Gharib's* teacher Nizam* al-Din*, who is mentioned on every other page; the next most prominent figure in Burhan* al-Din* Gharib's* conversations is "the great shaykh," Farid* al-Din* Ganj-i Shakkar. *Fawa'id** *al-fu'ad** clearly exerted a profound influence on Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* as it had on Nizam* al-Din's* other disciples, and it suggested itself as a model that was eagerly followed in the recording of Burhan* al-Din* Gharib's* own teachings, even in the selection of the diary format and the preservation of its oral character.

Later texts from the circle of Burhan * al-Din* Gharib* took on a much more literary character, and while they retained oral elements, they abandoned the diary *malfuzat** structure for other genres. A more systematic approach characterized the *malfuzat** compiled by Rukn al-Din's* brother Hammad* al-Din* Kashani* (d. 761), entitled *Ahsan* al-aqwal* (The best of sayings)*[310]. This book is divided up into twenty-nine chapters, each called a *qawl* or saying, covering all aspects of Sufi practice, summarized as follows:

1. On the practices (*rawish-ha**) of the masters of the path and the customs (*sunan*) of the lords of reality.

2. On the order of the manners (*adab**) of the shaykhs' assemblies.

3. On the firm faith of disciples in the matter of the master and other ascetics.

4. On the manners of the aspirant in the presence of the master.

5. On the manners of initiation (*bay`er*) and the explanation of people's intentions and the conditions of discipleship.

6. On the virtue of obeying the master.

7. On the explanation of guarding the cloak (*khil`at*) and other articles received from the master.

8. On disciplining the soul.

9. On the excellence of good actions.

10. On the excellence of good morals.

11. On the manifestation of the greatness and miracles of the saints.

12. On the excellence of fasting.

13. On the excellence of truthfulness.

14. On the influence of the prayers of the saints.

15. On the internal states of love.

16. On the manners of accepting gifts.

17. On avoiding consumption of unlawful things.

18. On the manners of trust in God, patience, and enduring poverty and hunger.

19. On the companions of excellence and contentment.

20. On the excellence of seclusion.

21. On the excellence of harmony and beneficence.

22. On the poor and the rich.

23. On the condemnation of begging.

24. On the excellence of charity.

25. On the excellence of prayers.

26. On the manners of the assembly of audition (*sama**).

27. On the miracles of Burhan* al-Din* Gharib*.

28. On the explanation of the dreams of the companions of Burhan* al-Din* Gharib*.

29. On the words of the master regarding his disciples.

As a handbook, it presents under each heading a series of principles and practices (*rawish*) in the words of Burhan * al-Din* Gharib*, usually followed by a concrete example, drawn from the experience of the Chishti* masters, that will serve as a proof (*burhan*, a play on the name of the shaykh). Some of the sayings preserve distinct characteristics of speech rather than written composition, so the words of Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* have a decidedly spoken flavor.[311] At the beginning of most chapters, Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* is introduced by a distinct set of lofty epithets in accordance with the topic of that chapter. The title of the book is drawn from two passages from the Qur'an* (39.18 and 41.33) that stress both hearing and following good advice. This text, which was begun in the year of Burhan* al-Din* Gharib's* death (738/1337), is fortunately also available in a scholarly Urdu translation.[312]

While the emphasis of *Ahsan* al-aqwal** is again on Sufi teaching, it imitates Rukn al-Din's* *Nafa'is* al-anfas** as a *malfuzat** text and claims a similar authority. The emphasis of *Ahsan* al-aqwal** is on social, ethical, psychological, and ritual practices (by far the longest chapter is the twenty-fifth, on prayers); only the last three chapters are devoted to the miracles and experiences of Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* and his disciples. The structured format of this work does not reveal as much of the personality of the author as do the works written in diary form, although at the end he reveals that Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* prayed that Hammad* al-Din* should become a living saint (the implication is that the prayer of Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* would be answered).[313] It seems that the author may have reedited the book later on, perhaps in the writing of the last three chapters, whose biographical content does not fit well with the very practical subject matter of the first twenty-six chapters; in chapter twenty-seven, Hammad* al-Din* quotes from his brother Maid al-Din's* *Ghara'ib* al-karamat**, a work that was certainly begun much later than the original edition of *Ahsan* al-aqwal**.[314] The language of the preface to *Ahsan* al-aqwal** is closely modelled on the preface to Rukn al-Din's* *Nafa'is* al-anfas**, quoting some phrases nearly verbatim. Hammad* al-Din* follows Rukn al-Din's* language very closely, but with greater rhetorical luxuriance, when he insists that no written source has ever indicated the profound depths of knowledge to be found in the present treatise.[315] Although the topical organization of this work seems on the surface to be a departure from the diary format of *Fawa'id* al-fu'ad**, through the concrete examples that it gives for each practice, *Ahsan* al-aqwal** retains the essential focus on the person of the master as the embodiment of the teaching.

The third *malfuzat** text to be written by a member of this remarkable family was Maid al-Din* Kashani's* *Ghara'ib* al-karamat* wa `aja'ib* al-mukashafat** (*rare miracles and wondrous unveilings*),[316] a work that falls more nearly into the category of narrative hagiography. Although the date of its composition is not known, the benedictory formulas addressed to Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* indicate that it was begun after the latter's death. Majd al-Din* in

his preface observed that for some time the idea for this book had been on his mind, that he "should make a book of the influential words of the Shaykh al-Islam *."[317] His friends urged him to follow the example of his two brothers, whose works have been described above; since they all have been constantly praising and remembering Burhan* al-Din* Gharib*, no girl could provide them more joy and ecstasy than a book chronicling the miracles (*karamat**) and unveilings (*mukashafat**) of the shaykh.

The preface continues with an extended narration of the severe discipline (*riyazat**) that enabled Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* to attain the powers and knowledge that occupy the bulk of this book.[318] The focus of this work is much more on the man than on his teachings. The way that Maid al-Din* was persuaded to write the book suggests that its purpose was primarily devotional. Yet in comparison with the fantastic events described in the spurious *malfuzat**, Burhan* al-Din* Gharib's* miracles are modest enough. He himself was quite conscious of the manner in which the popular imagination tended to attribute events such as healing to the prayers of saints, but he disclaimed responsibility for such feats, and regarded miracles as a distraction from the goal.[319] In *Ghara'ib* al-karamat**, there are no accounts of teleportation or nightly visits to Mecca. Of the fourteen events described as miracles, nearly all concern the saint's foreknowledge of the future,[320] while the nineteen "unveilings" are mostly occasions when he reads the thoughts or unspoken questions of others.[321] In effect, these were teaching miracles, evidences of the saint's transmission of Sufi teaching. The disciples of Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* evidently had a great desire for material of this kind, for Majd al-Din* later authored a supplementary collection of narratives entitled *Baqiyat* al-karamat** (*The rest of the miracles*), which is apparently no longer extant.[322] In any case, this work is primarily aimed at the devotee: "His disciples reached from the level of discipleship to the rank of mastery, and those accepted by him transformed the world; because they saw his blessed face, their sins were forgiven. [Verse:] I also have become his servant / so that the sins of this fool are forgiven. // He is an intercessor with God / so that he may bestow the cloak of acceptance."[323] As in the more narrowly construed hagiographies, this book reveals the shaykh as the one who has the power to read the disciple's heart and intercede with God on the disciple's behalf.

The fourth *malfuzat** work oriented toward Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* also came from the pen of Rukn al-Din* Kashani*, but its encyclopedic literary scope makes it only in part a record of the sayings of the shaykh. This monumental treatise is entitled *Shama'il* al-atqiya'* wa dala'il* al-anqiya'** (*Virtues of the devout and proofs of the pure*), the only one of the Khuldabad texts to be published in Persian.[324] *Shama'il* al-atqiya'** is an enormous collection (455 pages in the rare lithographed edition) of excerpts from Sufi writings and oral traditions, covering a full range of topics related to mystical thought and practice. In his preface, Rukn al-Din* has presented a list of over two hundred

fifty classical authorities on Sufism and religion that he consulted, which are scrupulously cited as sources on every page of the book. This bibliography, including both ,Arabic and Persian sources, comprises about seventy-five works on the standard Islamic religious sciences (Qur'anic * exegesis, *hadith**, theology, and law), about one hundred twenty-five books on Sufism, and another fifty sources of oral traditions.[325] A number of these titles are evidently no longer extant aside from the quotations in this work. *Shama'il** *al-atqiya'** also includes excerpts from several other lost treatises on Sufism written by the Kashani* brothers.[326] Rukn al-Din's* bibliography thus constitutes what Jonathan Z. Smith would call an ordered catalogue of texts rather than a closed canon.[327] Its inclusion of oral sources makes it essentially open-ended. The Chishti* *malfuzat**, which straddle the boundary between text and speech, are prominently featured in this catalogue.

Rukn al-Din* began writing *Shama'il** *al-atqiya'** during the lifetime of Burhan* al-Din* Gharib*, who approved the first few sections and bestowed upon Rukn al-Din* the title "the spiritual secretary" (*dabir-i** *ma`nawi**). The book was not completed, however, until some unspecified time after the shaykh's death.[328] The subjects that Rukn al-Din* included in *Shama'il** *al-atqiya'** address a select audience of educated Sufis. The two principal sections are, first, a discussion in fifty-two chapters of Islamic rituals and the interior stations (*maqamat**) of Sufism. Second is an analysis of mystical states (*ahwal**). The third and fourth sections, on theology and anthropology, are miniscule in comparison and function only as appendixes. As is common in Sufi manuals, each chapter begins with quotations from the Qur'an* and *hadith**, followed by excerpts from works of exegesis, Islamic law, theology, and from a multitude of Sufi sources. The popularity of *Shama'il** *al-atqiya'** can be gauged from its translation into Dakhani Urdu in the seventeenth century.[329] The special interest of this text for the development of *malfuzat** is due to its incorporation of many of Burhan* al-Din* Gharib's* oral teachings.[330] Rukn al-Din did not intend merely to make a compilation based on written sources, but viewed the preceding Sufi tradition as a heritage alongside the oral teaching received from Burhan* al-Din* Gharib*. He formed this resolve:

> In this book should be written and recorded the different sayings and virtues of the devout and the saints, and the kinds of spiritual states and customs of the virtuous and the pure, which have issued from these treatises and writings, [and] from the conceptual wonders and esoteric rarities that have been heard from the jewel-bearing tongue and pearl-scattering discourse of that unveiler of scriptural difficulties and clarifier of intricate proof, that is, my master and patron, my elder and teacher.[331]

Unlike the *malfuzat** written in diary form, which strive to recreate the living presence of the master, this scholarly production places the master's

oral teaching in the context of a vast historical tradition. The ordered catalogue of texts that forms its bibliography, while not a closed canon, confers canonical authority on the Chishti * *malfuzat** texts while still recognizing the importance of oral sources.

The Problem of "Inauthentic" Malfuzat*

It was probably the impact of Nizam* al-Din* Awliya'* through the teachings of *Fawa'id** *al-fu'ad** that led to the reconstruction of earlier Chishti* tradition along similar lines, through the fabrication of spurious *malfuzat** texts. As Barani* observed, one of the effects of Nizam* al-Din's* popularity was to arouse people's curiosity about the teachings and practices of the earlier Chishti* masters, such as Farid* al-Din* and Qutb* al-Din*.[332] It was in this spirit that the grandson of Shaykh Hamid* al-Din* Suwali* Nagawri* (d. 1276) compiled the latter's sayings, in a large and rambling *malfuzat** composed around 1350.[333] As shown above, the purpose of the *malfuzat** was to evoke the personal presence of the Sufi master as well as to record the shaykh's teachings. Nizam* al-Din* had also attempted to record some of the conversations of his master Farid* al-Din* to this end, though no trace of this survives. But somehow a series of books, attributed to the earlier Chishti* shaykhs, began to appear. By a kind of principle of plenitude, every great teacher in the Chishti* succession was credited with a book of teachings. Even before the completion of the first part of *Fawa'id** *al-fu'ad**, a book falsely ascribed to Nizam* al-Din* was in circulation in Awadh; Nizam* al-Din*, who firmly denied having written that or any other book, reflected that problems of plagiarism and inauthentic books had also plagued Indian Sufi authors even in the time of `Ali* Hujwiri*.[334] Perhaps the most telling piece of evidence against the false *malfuzat** occurs in the conversations of Nasir* al-Din* Mahmud* "Chiragh-i* Dihli*" (d. 1356), a chief disciple of Nizam* al-Din*; when a disciple asked about these writings, Nasir* al-Din* rejected them as unworthy of the Chishti* masters, none of whom had ever written a book.

In a brilliant article, Mohammad Habib called attention to these spurious *malfuzat**, demonstrating their variance from accepted Chishti* teachings, their historical anachronisms, and their lack of authenticity according to the testimony of the Chishti* masters themselves. Habib concentrated on six unauthentic works, listed here according to their ostensible chronological order:

1. *Anis** *al-arwah**, the conversations of `Usman* Harwani* allegedly collected by Mu`in* al-Din* Chishti*;

2. *Dalil** *al-`arifin**, the conversations of Mu`in* al-Din* Chishti* collected by Qutb* al-Din* Bakhtiyar* Kaki*;

3. *Fawa'id** *al-salikin**, the conversations of Qutb* al-Din* Bakhtiyar* Kaki* collected by Farid* al-Din* Ganj-i Shakkar;

4. *Asrar * al-awliya'**, the conversations of Farid* al-Din* Ganj-i Shakkar collected by Badr al-Din* Ishaq*;

5. *Rahat* al-qulub**, the conversations of Farid* al-Din* Ganj-i Shakkar as collected by Nizam* al-Din*; and

6. *Afzal* al-fawa'id**, and its continuation *Rahat* al-muhibbin**, the conversations of Nizam* al-Din* as recorded by the poet Amir* Khusraw.[335]

These books lack the personal touch that made *Fawa'id* al-fu'ad** such an effective presentation of Nizam* al-Din's* teaching. The false *malfuzat** focus on establishing the authority of the Chishti* masters at all costs—describing, for instance, the Prophet's miraculous recognition of the Chishti* saints during their pilgrimages to Mecca—although reliable Chishti* tradition firmly records that none of these masters ever made the *hajj** pilgrimage. While the genuine *malfuzat** contain lively conversations, the audiences in the fabricated works are silent witnesses to the monologues of saints. The spurious *malfuzat** are characterized by a profusion of exaggerated miracles designed to enhanced the saint's prestige, and by an extreme fascination with chants (*awrad**) and their benefits. Although the unauthentic works are not devoid of merit, they betray their secondary status by plagiarizing at length from *Fawa'id* al-fu'ad**. The reconstruction they offer of the early Chishti* order tends toward the simplistic, dwelling on charisma and miraculous power rather than evoking a guiding presence.[336] The stress on presenting the unbroken initiatic line of the early Chishtis* may have been due to anxiety about the dispersal of the Chishti* order after the death of Nizam* al-Din* in 1325.[337] The primary concern of these texts is to establish the mere fact of spiritual authority rather than to convey the teachings upon which that authority rested. At a loss to explain the popularity of these works, Habib finally suggested that they were forgeries commissioned by booksellers in order to drum up trade.[338]

Despite the criticisms of Habib, it must be acknowledged that traditional Chishti* circles from an early date generally accepted these documents as genuine, and they are still very popular in Urdu translation. The authenticity of these *malfuzat** has been defended by a number of traditionally-minded scholars.[339] Today, most follower of the Chishti* order in fact rely primarily on the "inauthentic" *malfuzat** for their understanding of the early Chishti* masters; the only exception to this rule is *Fawa'id* al-fu'ad**, which has continued to be universally popular up to the present day. The discourses of Chiragh-i* Dihli* and Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* can be found only in a few rare Persian manuscripts preserved in private libraries and Sufi shrines, and on the rare occasion when they have been translated into Urdu, these publications remain extremely hard to get. Nizami, finding only three manuscripts of *Khayr al-majalis**, attributed their rarity to the rigor of Chiragh-i* Dihli's* teachings, since the shaykh insisted on observance of Islamic law, criticized heredi-

tary succession in Sufi lineages, and rejected the "inauthentic" *malfuzat* *. This strict approach necessarily lacked the popular appeal of the "inauthentic" *malfuzat**.[340] At shrines such as the tomb of Farid* al-Din* Ganj-i Shakkar in Pakistan, the most commonly available text today consists of the Urdu translations of eight *malfuzat** texts in a single volume entitled *Hasht bihisht* or *Eight Heavens.* This contains seven "inauthentic" texts plus one original one: *Anis** *al-arwah**, *Dalil** *al-`arifin**, *Fawa'id** *al-salikin** *Rahat** *al-qulub**, *Miftah** *al-`ashiqin** (discourses attributed to Nasir* al-Din* Mahmud*), *Fawa'id** *al-fu'ad**, *Rahat** *al-muhibbin**, and *Asrar** *al-awliya'**. The eclipse of the early *malfuzat** texts by other writings believed to be inauthentic constitutes a problem for critical scholarship. The problem is that Habib's critical approach, while partly framed in terms of traditional standards, draws primarily upon modern Western categories of analysis that are foreign to the material under consideration. His distaste for miracle stories might even be said to reveal a positivistic bias.

The theoretical distinction I have attempted to make between the genuine and spurious *malfuzat** is compromised by the appearance of some of the "inauthentic" works in *Shama'il** *al-atqiya'**. In his bibliography, Rukn al-Din* Kashani* lists the apocryphal *malfuzat** of the early Chishti* shaykhs right along with Hasan* Dihlawi's* *Fawa'id** *al-fu'ad** and his own *Nafa'is** *al-anfas**.[341] The citations of Chishti* apocrypha in *Shama'il** *al-atqiya'** appear to be the earliest literary reference to the spurious *malfuzat**. Only a small number of citations from these works appear in *Shama'il** *al-atqiya'**, however: seven quotations in all, as far as I can determine.[342] The subjects covered in these quotations are for the most part concerned with Sufi practice, although one anecdote refers to the power of the master to discern the thoughts of prospective disciples (a prominent hagiographic theme in *Ghara'ib** *al-karamat**). The distinction between the genuine and false *malfuzat** is not absolute; it must be admitted that this distinction is significant primarily from the academic point of view. Both kinds of texts contain extracts from Sufi teaching, and both illustrate the charisma of the Sufi teacher; the difference is primarily in emphasis. Rukn al-Din*, too, was attempting to represent the breadth of the Sufi tradition in the widest possible way. His concern was not to establish rigid standards of textual authenticity but to summarize the range and depth of Sufi teaching available to the Chishti* masters in his day, and in his experience the literary tradition was closely tied to the oral one. He cites over thirty authorities simply as "the treatise of so-and-so," refers to over fifty oral sources as "the saying of so-and-so," and reserves an extra catchall category for anonymous sayings. In compiling *Shama'il** *al-atqiya'**, Rukn al-Din* was probably happy to include some references to the spurious Chishti* *malfuzat**, insofar as they contributed to his overall presentation of Sufi teaching. The anachronisms and contradictions that they contain would not have presented a problem for him, since he only extracted materials that were relevant to his purpose. Since Rukn al-Din* felt free to give excerpts from these apocryphal works in his Sufi

encyclopedia, we can only conclude that even at this early date the hagiographic interest in the early Chishti * order had already reached a fairly high level; in other words, the "inauthentic" *malfuzat** were popular manifestations of religious sentiment among Indian Muslims attached to the Chishti* order.

The last of the *malfuzat** texts written in Khuldabad was devoted to recording the teachings of Burhan* al-Din* Gharib's* principal successor, Zayn al-Din* Shirazi* (d. 1371). A court official and Chishti* disciple known only as Mir Hasan* compiled Zayn al-Din* Shirazi's* discourses under the title *Hidayat* al-qulub* wa `inayat* `ullam* al-ghuyub** (*Guidance of hearts and aid for knowers of the hidden*) between 745/1344 and 769/1367.[343] Hasan* obviously used *Fawa'id* al-fu'ad** as a model for his compilation, since he started off imitating its diary format, and he even adopted the same epithet for himself (*banda-i kamina**, "lowly servant") that Hasan* Dihlawi* had used in *Fawa'id* al-fu'ad**. Hasan* begins his account with verbal echoes of the epithets used by previous *malfuzat** writers to describe their enterprises:

> Having collected from the pearl-bearing and jewel-scattering words of the Shaykh of Islam and of the Muslims, the revered king Zayn al-Haqq* wa al-Haqiqa* wa al-Din* Da'ud* Husayn* Shirazi* (may God sustain the Muslims by prolonging his existence), according to the measure of my weak intelligence and infirm expression, this *Guidance of Hearts and Aid for Knowers of the Hidden* comes forth so that all the people of the heart may collect their scattered thoughts through this comprehensive collection, find salvation from external and internal dissipation, and help the author by praying for his good reward.[344]

Nonetheless, the formal similarity. with the earlier *malfuzat** texts is not close. *Hidayat* al-qulub** contains only eight dates in what is a very long manuscript, and in much of the text simply recounts anecdotes without any temporal sequence, so that the diary structure is more apparent than real.[345] References to discussions that took place earlier and materials referred to "above" and "below" reinforce the literary character of the work.[346] Perhaps because he has followed his own initiative in collecting Zayn al-Din* Shirazi's* teaching, Hasan* reveals more of his own personality than do other *malfuzat** writers. Mir* Hasan's* compilation begins with his first meeting with the shaykh, and it indirectly reveals his growing closeness to Zayn al-Din* Shirazi* over a period of nearly twenty-five years. Hasan* frequently asks questions and records his gradual initiation into the inner *circle* of disciples. In addition, *Hidayat* al-qulub** has a much stronger narrative character than other *malfuzat**. Zayn al-Din* Shirazi's* stories are told at length and in leisurely detail, in contrast to the often brief and abbreviated tales recorded from Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* and Nizam* al-Din*. He repeatedly emphasized how stories can be

understood on different levels according to the capacity of the audience. [347] Zayn al-Din* Shirazi's* scholarly training in the study of the Qur'an* and its commentaries is displayed frequently, and he also recites a surprisingly large number of verses in an old dialect of Hindi.

Other Sufi orders in India besides the Chishtis* possessed quasicanonical *malfuzat** texts. Although the state of research on the literature of these other Sufi orders is not as far advanced as in the case of the Chishtis*, it appears that the Chishti* *malfuzat** literature in most cases served as a model for non-Chishti* orders. No contemporary writings record the history of the establishment of the Suhrawardi* order in northwestern India in the thirteenth century. The founder of the Suhrawardiyya in Multan, Baha'* al-Din* Zakariyya* (d. 1262) wrote several works on prayer, retreat, and Sufi practice, but they lack the personal dimension of *malfuzat** texts.[348] Later hagiographers who sought to reconstruct the life and teachings of Baha'* al-Din* Zakariyya* had to resort to the Chishti* *malfuzat** or fourteenth-century Suhrawardi* sources to find extensive anecdotal material about him.[349] Hagiographers of the Mughul period refer to *malfuzat** texts recording the teachings of Baha'* al-Din's* successors in Multan, but it is generally agreed today that these works have not survived.[350] This judgment appears to have been premature, however, and mistaken in assuming that all *malfuzat** texts were written in Persian. A disciple of Baha'* al-Din's* grandson Rukn al-Din* Abu* al-Fath* (d. 1335), one Fazl* Allah* al-Majawi*, actually compiled the teachings of the Suhrawardi* saints in 1316 in Arabic, under the title *al-Fatawa* al-Sufiyya* fi* tariq* al-Baha'iyya** (*Sufi decrees on the Baha'ian* path*), which can be found in manuscript in several European and Turkish libraries.[351] Since the first book of *Fawa'id* al-fu'ad** had only been completed a couple of years previously, it appears that *al-Fatawa* al-Sufiyya** was exceptional in being composed without reference to *Fawa'id* al-fu'ad**; a preliminary examination indicates that the work is organized topically on the model of the classic Suhrawardi* handbook of Sufism, `Umar al-Suhrawardi's* *`Awarif* al-ma`arif**, although it still employs the *hadith**-based narrative as found in the Chishti* *malfuzat** In any case, the Suhrawardi* materials clearly call for further investigation. The abundant compilations devoted to the teachings and miracles of the later Suhrawardi* saint Jalal* al-Din* Bukhari* "Makhdum-i* Jahaniyan*" (d. 1383) provide extensive documentation of popular Muslim religiosity in the fourteenth century.[352] In the Firdawsi* order based in Bihar, another impressive series of *malfuzat** texts chronicled the teachings of Sharaf al-Din* Maneri* (d. 1381) and his successors, from the late 1340s onward. These compilations are mostly in diary form like *Fawa'id* al-fu'ad**, and record Sharaf al-Din's* conversations with many visitors. Thanks to the researches of Paul Jackson these writings are becoming better known, but much work remains to be done before we shall have a complete understanding of their literary tradition.[353]

If we set aside the problem of authenticity and turn to other axes of

comparison, we can nevertheless distinguish between the two classes of texts in terms of the previously mentioned categories of oral or written character, canonicity, and audience. We have referred to the discourses of Nizam * al-Din*, Chiragh-i* Dihli*, and Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* as the "original" *malfuzat** texts for purposes of discussion. These works preserve many unmistakable features of oral style. Here, the Sufi masters in their conversations frequently use the typically oral mnemonic devices of clustering related items into groups of three, four, or five. Questions, exclamations, impromptu quotations of poetry, and occasional dramatic interaction with interlocutors dominate these early texts. What may be called the "retrospective" *malfuzat** texts in contrast show them delivering monotonous sermons and narrative pericopes that betray a purely literary hand at work.[354] This increasingly literary quality of *malfuzat**, and the loss of oral character, is characteristic of the later proliferation of *malfuzat** texts that emerged from subsequent generations of Chishti* masters (in most of these cases there is no question about the authenticity of these works). By the fifteenth century, the oral element in *malfuzat** is in many cases entirely eliminated. It should be noted that the recognition of the importance of oral modes of textuality in Islamic culture has only recently begun to appear in scholarly literature.[355] The orality of the *malfuzat** texts is also suggestive for the oral aspect of *hadith**, which was so strongly emphasized as being the basis of the *malfuzat**. It is noteworthy that the story of Abu* Hurayra's mantle and his remarkable memory has recently come under criticism from modernist interpreters in Egypt, who have questioned the vast number of *hadith** reports circulating in his name. These scholars have applied exclusively literary textual standards derived from Western scholarship, so it is not surprising that they are in the process becoming alienated from oral portions of their tradition.[356]

As far as indigenous categories are concerned, while both the original and retrospective texts function canonically, they can be distinguished in terms of their relative emphasis on normative teaching or religious authority. Following the model of *hadith** reports, the original *malfuzat** as described above stress the contents of Sufi teaching, particularly with regard to practice. The retrospective works, on the other hand, move largely in the direction of hagiography in emphasizing personal charisma and authority over teaching. Of course, hagiographic elements of authority do appear in the original *malfuzat**, and the retrospective works pay attention to practices such as the efficacy of chants, but the main tendencies tend to break along these lines. This distinction is further demonstrated in the authorship of the texts. The compilers of the original *malfuzat** were disciples trying to preserve and convey their masters' teachings: Hasan* Dihlawi* was a court poet, the Kashani* brothers of Khuldabad were all court officials, and Hamid* Qalandar was a marginal Sufi hanger-on and poet. The retrospective texts, on the other hand, form an extended literary elaboration of the initiatic genealogy, unam-

biguously guaranteeing and concretizing the authority of the order. Even miracle stories tend to break down in the same fashion, with the original *malfuzat* * stressing miracles as part of the teaching and the retrospective texts using them to demonstrate authority.

The original *malfuzat**, finally, differ from the retrospective works in terms of their audience. The recorders of the original *malfuzat** were addressing elite members of the Turkish nobility and military class that ruled northern India in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. These were people who could put themselves in the place of a Hasan* Dihlawi*, imagining themselves to be the disciple of the Sufi shaykh, and using the text as what Hasan* Dihlawi* called "the guide of the path." The audience of the retrospective *malfuzat**, on the other hand, was less concerned with Sufi practice and Islamic law, but much more interested in the powers of the saints as intercessors with God. For them, the value of the *malfuzat** was relational rather than informational; the *malfuzat** functioned scripturally to put them in touch with the heart of the Chishti* lineage, and therefore in close relationship with God's representatives on earth. Because of the pseudonymous character of the retrospective works, it is difficult to identify their "popular" audience with much more precision than this on purely internal grounds. Yet *Fawa'id** *al-fu'ad**, the foundational text of the genre, was not limited by these restrictions and appealed to both audiences.

The Sufi teaching is essentially a personal mediation of a complex teaching tradition. In its normative aspect, it follows the model of *hadith** by transmitting religious guidelines through a chain of reliable witnesses. Hagiographical writing in its most extreme form disregards the teaching aspect of Sufism and concentrates instead on authority. In the Chishti* Sufi order, the original *malfuzat** by their dialogical format used the *hadith** method of oral transmission to embody the teaching process in a written form. The process of textualization of oral teaching led to the formation of a kind of secondary canon of Indian Sufi literature, in which the retrospective elaboration of the discourses of the early Chishti* masters supplemented the original texts, proceeding along purely literary lines. The modern debate about the authenticity of the *malfuzat** literature has been conducted in terms of Western critical standards that are sometimes quite removed from the self-understanding of the tradition. Wilfred Cantwell Smith has observed that "we have tended to derive our concept of scripture from the Bible; I am suggesting that we are now in a position where our understanding of the Bible, and of much else across the world, may begin to be derived from a larger concept of scripture."[357] In trying to understand the emergence of the canon of Chishti* *malfuzat** texts, or any other non-Western religious texts, it may be tempting to apply the same standard techniques of literary criticism that were developed in biblical studies, in terms of a scriptural model that was basically Protestant. But the limitations of this kind of approach become apparent when the interpreter

ends up dismissing as "inauthentic" and "apocryphal" a literature that continues to have a demonstrably canonical function for its community. By observing how this tradition has interpreted its own canonical texts, we can not only enlarge our comprehension of this particular phenomenon, but also we can expand our categories of analysis so that they may more adequately reflect the global scope of the study of religion.

5
The Interpretation of the Sufi Biographical Tradition in India

After the *malfuzat* * texts, the most important sources for the development of Sufism in India are biographical dictionaries, both purely hagiographic collections and lives of the saints conceived as a supplement to political history. The difference between religious and political biography is by no means as clear as one might suppose. In classical Islamic literature, the lives of Sufi saints are often found in local biographical works devoted the notables of a particular city. Books of lives of the saints frequently have an explicitly political context, signaled by a dedication to a sultan or other powerful political figure, or by reference to disputes over precedence within Sufi orders. Implicit political motives can also be inferred by reference to contemporary events or by comparison with other hagiographic texts ostensibly describing the same period. What follows is a brief outline of some of the most important works on Sufi biography relating to the Chishtis* from the sultanate period and the Mughul era to the present. The increasing overlap of religious and political objectives is one of the fundamental themes of these texts.

By far the most useful and reliable early Chishti* biographical text is *Siyar al-awliya'* (*Lives of the saints*), written around 1350 by Sayyid Muhammad* ibn Mubarak* `Alawi* Kirmani*, known as Mir* Khwurd (d. 1368). Although Mir* Khwurd had been brought up in a family devoted to Nizam* al-Din* Awliya'*, he had entered government service and worked in the Deccan for some fifteen years; he later referred to this period of secular employment as having been devoid of any association with Sufism. Sometime after the Bahmani* dynasty ended the Delhi sultanate's control over the Deccan in 1348, Mir* Khwurd returned to Delhi and reestablished his contacts with the Chishti* order, eventually experiencing a renewal of his initiation in a dream of Nizam* al-Din* Awliya'* on the night of April 17, 1357.[358] On Mir* Khwurd's return to the Chishti* order in Delhi, he accepted Nasir* al-Din* Mahmud* Chiragh-i* Dihli* as the legitimate successor to Nizam* al-Din* Awliya'*. Mir* Khwurd's book is an

extremely valuable source, not least because of his incorporation of documents from Chishti * archives as well as oral traditions from his family. It is the first attempt at a biographical sketch of the Chishti* order in chronological order. The focus of the book, not surprisingly, is Nizam* al-Din* Awliya'*. The latter portions, which are arranged by topic, contain extensive excerpts from *Fawa'id* al-fu'ad*. But Mir* Khwurd moves in the direction of hagiography; he borrows incidents and sayings from the portraits of the early Chishtis* in the "retrospective" *malfuzat*, sometimes changing the names of the main characters,[359] He stresses charisma and miracle, so that in comparison with the best *malfuzat** works, Mohammad Habib concluded that "his work, though very informative and quite indispensable, is not an equally safe guide."[360]

The narratives in a hagiography like *Siyar al-awliya'** are not isolated facts, but function as part of a presentation designed to highlight Chishti* teachings through exemplary personalities. A comparison of several highly circumstantial episodes with earlier and contemporary sources reveals that some of the stories in *Siyar al-awliya'** are not descriptions of actual events at all, but are narrative elaborations of Sufi maxims and popular stories. As an example, we can take Mir* Khwurd's biography of one of Nizam* al-Din* Awliya's* chief disciples, Shaykh Fakhr al-Din* Zarradi*. This shaykh, we are told, had once defied Sultan Muhammad* ibn Tughluq's attempt to force him into government service, but was constrained to join the emigrants to Daulatabad.[361] Yet he chafed at the enforced move, and hoped to leave for pilgrimage to Mecca. He expressed this wish to the chief religious official of the empire, Qazi* Kamal* al-Din* Sadr-i* Jahan*, an old friend from student days in Hansi.[362] The qazi* pointed out that he would have difficulty in obtaining the sultan's permission to leave Daulatabad. Fakhr al-Din* was dejected by this advice, and told Mir* Khwurd's father Sayyid Muhammad* Kirmani* that he had given up the plan. Sayyid Muhammad rebuked him for accepting the qazi's* advice and abandoning his heart's desire, and told him, "This is no good; there is no consultation in love." He urged Fakhr al-Din* to go ahead on pilgrimage, but to conceal his plan from Qazi* Kamal* al-Din*. On the pretext Of attending a wedding, Fakhr al-Din* left Daulatabad and escaped to Mecca where he accomplished his pilgrimage. After a sojourn in Baghdad he perished at sea while attempting to return to his beloved Delhi.[363]

The story of Fakhr al-Din* Zarradi's* pilgrimage is so circumstantial, especially with reference to Mir* Khwurd's father, that we are inclined to treat it as a reliable report. But nearly the same account, with minor variations, occurs as a stock teaching story in the Chishti* *malfuzat**. Nizam* al-Din* Awliya'* related the story in his assembly in Delhi on 2 Dhu* al-Qa`da 720/4 December 1320, telling how an unnamed person requested permission from the qazi* of Lahore to go on pilgrimage to Mecca. This differs from Mir* Khwurd's story in that the qazi* at first gives the man a present and asks him to remain and preach to the people, but later in exasperation tells him to go to Mecca when the man

keeps asking him for permission to go. The story is told only for the moral that "there is no consultation in love"—the true lover does not ask the advice of others about love. [364]

Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* likewise told a version of this story in Daulatabad on 20 Sha`ban* 734/16 April 1334, with the only difference that the qazi* this time is from Hansi, as in Mir* Khwurd's account.[365] Nizam* al-Din* Awliya'* and Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* were not concerned with the story's historical accuracy or the identity of the characters when using it for teaching purposes. Yet Mir* Khwurd relates it as a historical event. This is most unlikely, however, since Fakhr al-Din* Zarradi* as a senior disciple of Nizam* al-Din* would have been quite familiar with the teaching story, and would scarcely have acted the part of the naive would-be pilgrim. Mir* Khwurd was happy to retain the moral of the story (with his habitual addition of a forgettable Persian verse), but his application of this tale to a historical person, buttressed with first-person testimony from his father, is odd. It is tempting to suspect that Fakhr al-Din* did actually leave the Deccan surreptitiously to go to Mecca, and that Mir* Khwurd has faithfully recorded the resentment that the sultan's manipulative policies aroused among independent religious figures. Yet he could not refrain from introducing a typical Sufi anecdote into the account to give it more rhetorical force.

Another comparable case is the story, encountered by the traveler Ibn Battuta*, of the dervish whose disciples ate a baby elephant, whereupon the enraged mother elephant killed them all, sparing only the master after smelling his breath to determine his innocence. Ibn Battuta* was told that the story concerned the famous Iranian Sufi Ibn al-Khafif* (d. 983), who never went to India, but the same anecdote occurs, without names, as a teaching story in the *malfuzat** of Burhan* al-Din* Gharib*.[366] In terms of the interpretation of a hagiography like *Siyar al-awliya'**, this kind of example suggests that a great deal of cautious comparison and examination of literary treatment is necessary before the author's strategy as a biographer can be evaluated.

The value of a balanced biographical source like *Siyar al-awliya'** is all the more apparent when it is compared to unrestrained hagiographies that glorified the authority of Sufi saints to the limit. A good example of this is the late fourteenth-century work entitled *Halat-i* mashayikh-i* Chisht* (*States of the Chishti* shaykhs*), written by Baha'* al-Din* Mahmud* "Raja*" Nagawri* (grandson of the famous Sufi saint Qazi* Hamid* al-Din* Nagawri*).[367] The text is organized in the form of a chronological chain or *silsila* of the Chishtis*, beginning with the Prophet Muhammad* and concluding after seventeen master-disciple transmissions with the author's own master, `Imad* al-Din*.[368] Practically every anecdote in the book is a miracle story, mostly related from the oral accounts of `Imad* al-Din*. The tendency in this kind of extreme hagiography is to stress the fact of holiness rather than its content, as was pointed out earlier. One story in this text brings out this charismatic focus especially well. This is the

account of how Mu'in * al-Din* Chishti*, the founder of the Chishti* order in India, was meditating in the Ka`ba in Mecca, and by divine order was granted the boon that all future disciples of his line would be blessed by God.[369] This promise, which would have been especially appreciated by later Chishti* devotees, tells us nothing about why Mu`in* al-Din* was so singled out for God's favor, but merely assures us that his authority has divine support until the resurrection. This "blank check," giving unlimited power of mediation' to a Sufi saint, is a kind of apotheosis of saintly authority. It will recur not only in Sufi hagiographies but also in political chronicles that legitimize dynasties in the names of Sufi saints.

In dynastic histories, the role of Sufi saints has generally been limited to their influence on politics. This in itself is not surprising, but the extent to which these political portraits have influenced the received image of Sufis has not been sufficiently appreciated. From the viewpoint of the British colonial historians, all of this emphasis on Sufism in the dynastic histories was inexplicable. When Briggs published his translation of Firishta's history in 1829, he omitted the entire concluding section on Sufi saints, on the grounds that it was irrelevant to history.[370] But many of the Mughul-era historians of India felt that inclusion of lives of the saints was a necessary part of their task.[371] The reason for the importance of saints' lives in works of political history is not hard to discover. It is the literary reflex of the quest for legitimacy, dating back to the Seljuk period, which led sultans to regard patronage of Sufism as a vital state policy.

From the viewpoint of historiography, however, ambiguity arises when comparison of Sufi sources with dynastic histories reveals widely differing concepts of the nature of the relationship between Sufis and sultans. The question is further complicated by hagiographies that have been dedicated to rulers or produced in an imperial context; it is always necessary to ask to what extent such a hagiography has been interfered with, as it were, by imperial perspectives. In the same way, Sufi hagiography is a factor in the descriptions of saints refusing to accept land endowments for fear of becoming too closely dependent on the court. Choice of language and narrative structure are necessary ingredients in the complicated and sophisticated process of biographical writing. Whether the Sufi-sultan relationship was portrayed in positive or negative terms, the choice of approach was a choice between historiographies.

The polarity between mystical and royal historiographies should not be taken as absolute and exclusive, but as a symbiotic relationship. In medieval Islamic society, Sufism and the court were never totally separate from one another. For all that the early Chishtis* may have refused land endowments from sultans, they nonetheless relied on gifts (*futuh**) from all classes of society, especially the wealthier classes. Many leading Chishti* disciples were members of the court or the administration. Far from being anarchists or even

democrats, the Chishti * masters clearly regarded the royal institution, with appropriate Islamic orientation, as the normal form of regulating society. The ambiguity that appears in the gap between the writings of the Sufi *khanqah** and the court was part of the tension between human nature and the divine order, between the unbounded assertion of imperial authority and the renunciation of human desires, as it was experienced in the Delhi sultanate. The paradoxical symbol of a dervish wearing a crown, and the adoption of courtly ceremonial in Sufi circles, were indications of how close the symbiosis between the two institutions was in practice. Often one and the same author could write both political histories and sacred biographies, or hybrid works uniting the characteristics of both.[372] It is precisely because of this institutional symbiosis that it is necessary to reconsider the classification of literary accounts that annihilate the tension between the two historiographies.[373]

To enumerate and describe the details of the evolution of Sufi biography, and its relation with royal historiography, is beyond the scope of this study, but some general characterizations may be attempted. Although the number of biographical dictionaries of Sufi saints written in Persian is enormous, they have not yet been subjected to scarcely any critical analysis.[374] The principles of selection and arrangement, of inclusion and exclusion, have not been clarified, especially for the larger works. Some criteria are more obvious than others. The monographic biography devoted to a single saint is the simplest category. The next stage of complexity is the anthology (usually indicated by the term *tazkira,* "memoir") of local saints' lives, focused on a single city or town; this is a well-attested genre of Islamic biography, which continues to be produced up to the present day. Yet when we reach the level of organization by Sufi order or lineage, it is necessary to ask a number of questions about the way in which large biographical works have been organized. One place to begin this inquiry is with Sufi genealogies preserved in ritual *shajara* ("tree") documents. Many Sufi shrines preserve such documents, which Sufi initiates would often receive as part of their admission into the order. In written biographies of the pre-Mughul period there is not much of a problem with classification by order, since fewer Sufi orders were active in India and the lines of affiliation remained fairly clear. But by the sixteenth century, a new phenomenon of multiple initiations became common. Shaykh Muhammad* Ghaws Gwaliyari*, for example, claimed initiation in twelve different lineages: one Shattari*, one Madari*, one Uwaysi*, one Qadiri*, two Chishti*, two Firdawsi*, and four Suhrawardi*.[375] Under these circumstances it becomes difficult to unravel the different lines of initiation and decide on a method of organization.

In addition, many hagiographers used the archaic system of sects introduced by Hujwiri* in his *Kashf al-mahjub** in the eleventh century. Originally adapted from the works of heresiographers, Hujwiri's* system described twelve sects within Sufism, all but two of which were acceptable. In reality

this division was based on psychological tendencies attributed to the "founders" of the different sects, although Hujwiri * admitted that scarcely any of these schools existed in a coherent form in his day.[376] This arrangement, which was composed at least a century before the emergence of the recognized Sufi orders, was poorly adapted to describe the historical development of the orders. Later on a parallel model of fourteen families (*chahardah* khanwada**) came into play, but the imposition of such a model onto hagiographies containing hundreds of individual notices often creates the impression of haphazard and arbitrary arrangement. Yet the construction of linear history is an interpretative act that has been a constant factor in the articulation of social order from antiquity to the present day.[377]

In a recent paper, Bruce Lawrence has raised important questions about the composition of Sufi biographical works, arising from his comparison of two Mughul-era hagiographies written by members of the Qadiri* order: `Abd al-Haqq* Dihlawi's* *Akhbar* al-akhyar** and Dara* Shikuh's* *Safinat* al-awliya'**. His research has shown that the two works exhibit widely diverging concepts of the Qadiri* order and its linear development.[378] It is clear that extensive comparative analysis of many different hagiographies will be necessary before we can form a coherent picture of the way in which the historical construction of Sufism took shape in India.

Beyond the technical problem of lineages is the more substantive issue of political context. The hagiographies of the Mughul period were composed in an era of imperial expansion, which made possible the concept of a pan-Indian scope in historical writing. Despite the momentary expansion of the Tughluq empire in the early fourteenth century to include the south of India as well as Bengal, the dynasties centered on Delhi remained kingdoms of Hindustan (i.e., northern India, especially the Gangetic plain). But with the expansionist policy initiated by Akbar, the Mughuls asserted their dominion over the entire subcontinent as a world imperial gesture. Hagiographies produced in the post-Akbar period reflect this pan-Indian vision of Sufi saint-hood, which might be said to carry with it an implicit acknowledgment of Mughul sovereignty. In Mughul-era hagiographies one also finds frequent mention of the activities of earlier Sufi saints with regard to converting the local populace to Islam. This topic is strangely absent in Sufi writings of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, reflecting the very restricted arena in which the early Indian Sufis carried out their activities. The new emphasis on conversion uses much of the rhetoric of imperial expansion, in this way linking the ruling power with both Sufi saints and the expansion of the Islamic basis of society. With many portrayals of Sufis and their relations with sultans, a slippage takes place, so that the tension between Sufi historiography and royal historiography becomes blurred. In some cases it becomes impossible to find anything to differentiate a hagiography from a dynastic history. Thus, in a case discussed later in this study (Part III, chap. 10), the anony-

mous author of a local hagiography of Burhanpur took up entire passages from the dynastic historian Firishta to complete his biographies of the Chishti * saints of Khuldabad. If anything, this text (*Fath* al-awliya'*) has a much more stridently imperialistic tone than does Firishta. Rather than characterize this text as a hagiography with an imperial dedication, it may be better to call it an imperial manifesto with a hagiographical extension.

The subsequent development of Sufi hagiography after the Mughul period is a subject that still awaits investigation, but it may safely be predicted that questions of new political and social contexts will prove to be just as important as in earlier ages. The topic of conversion to Islam, which authors of the Mughul period used to make a connection between Sufi saints and political power, takes on an altogether different hue in Urdu hagiographies of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Clearly under pressure from the Christian missionaries who had free reign in British India, Muslim authors reconceived the role of the Sufi into that of Islamic missionary. One even finds the English word "mission" transliterated into Urdu in some of these accounts. Many tribal and ethnic groups formulated their own relationship with Islam in terms of contact with some great Sufi master of the past. The nineteenth-century British gazetteers are full of oral traditions that relate the spectacular conversion of large groups to Islam following the miraculous deeds of noted Sufi saints. In more recent times, literature produced in postpartition Pakistan under the auspices of the Awqaf Department reflects government-approved interpretations of the historical roles of Sufi saints. And local hagiographies continue to be produced for the benefit of pilgrims and devotees.

Within this context we may consider the more recent hagiographical works devoted to the Sufis of Khuldabad. In the post-Mughul period, two such works, both written in Persian, claim our attention: Azad* Bilgrami's* *Rawzat* al-awliya'* (*Garden of the saints*), written in 1152/1740, and Sabzawari's* *Sawanih*.* (*Incidents*), completed in 1189/1775. Azad* (1116/1704-1200/1786), whose name has already been mentioned, was a well-known scholar and poet in Arabic and Persian.[379] Although he came from a learned family in Awadh, he settled in the Deccan in Dhu* al-Qa`da 1152/January 1740, and remained for seven years at a Sufi hospice in Aurangabad. He was also attached to the court of the Nizams, a dynasty whose first three representatives were buried at Khuldabad. *Rawzat* al-awliya'** is one of his earlier productions, but it shows a careful scholarly approach, based on a thorough knowledge of the manuscripts of *malfuzat** texts as well as dynastic histories such as that of Firishta. The book covers the Khuldabad Chishtis* and other saints of that locality whose antecedents are less well known, and it concludes with a section on the kings buried there; royal historiography and hagiography are not separated here.[380] The other eighteenth-century work, Sabzawari's* *Sawanih*,* is by an otherwise unknown author.[381] It has thirty-one sections, of which about half

are devoted to the Chishtis * of Khuldabad and other ancient saints, while the rest concerns the city of Aurangabad and Sufis of the author's own time. The focus of this work is on Khuldabad and Aurangabad as centers of pilgrimage, with extended rhetorical descriptions of tombs and other buildings, along with brief accounts of the annual *`urs* festivals. The historiographical attitude of Sabzawari*, like that of Azad*, mixes royal and hagiographical tendencies in the same way that Mughul-era texts did, with the only addition being the presence of the Nizams as inheritors of Mughul sovereignty in the Deccan.

In the twentieth century, more local hagiographies have emerged in Urdu. Most valuable from the historical point of view is *Rawzat* al-aqtab** (*Garden of the world-axes*), published in 1931 to record the antiquarian researches of a learned local schoolteacher named Rawnaq `Ali*.[382] Like Azad*, he relied on a variety of rare manuscript sources, including the *malfuzat** which he surveyed thoroughly.[383] The book describes mainly the Khuldabad Chishtis*, along with a few other early saints, and it has valuable notes and digressions gleaned by the author from his experience in the Hyderabad civil service. He also periodically addresses memorials to the Nizam, requesting his support for renovation and maintenance of saints' and kings' shrines. There are other small books and pamphlets intended for pilgrims and antiquarians.[384] One of the last gestures of the Nizam's government toward these Sufi saints was a hagiographical booklet in Urdu on the Khuldabad Chishtis*, written by the Hindu prime minister of Hyderabad, Dewan Kishen Pershad.[385] Of these modern hagiographies, the most interesting, and the most recent (1988) was written by a Pakistani novelist and poet, Wahida* Nasim*, under the title *Shahan-i* be-taj** (*The uncrowned kings*).[386] The book is prefaced by an Urdu *ghazal,* which she has addressed to the principal Khuldabad saints; this poem (translated in the Conclusion, below) has now become a popular religious song there. Of special benefit to pilgrims are the book's extremely detailed accounts of the saintly and royal tombs. These modern works preserve many of the features of medieval imperial historiography in their exaltation of the kings buried in Khuldabad, and they add to it both the element of hagiographic legend and the modern concern with Sufi saints as missionaries of Islam.

To conclude this historiographical orientation, it may suffice to reiterate the interpretive principles that should govern an attempt to take account of the complex phenomenon of Sufism in history. The initial task has been to indicate the distance that separates modern ideologies (especially nationalism) from the medieval culture that produced the texts under investigation. Only then can one formulate the task of restoring the texts to their original political and religious context. Questions of literary genre need to take priority in this investigation, as the different kinds and classifications of writings are sorted out, with attention to the difference between written and oral sources. Questions of authorship and readership need to be addressed in every case also. All

these literary and historiographic differences can best be highlighted when we contrast differing accounts of the same events. Then categories of analysis can be elaborated on the basis of the materials themselves, rather than being deduced from some external framework. These are simple enough strictures, hardly novel in terms of literary and historical criticism. But their application in a systematic fashion to materials from medieval Indo-Muslim culture needs to be carried out far more extensively. The remainder of this study is an attempt to apply these principles to the special case of Khuldabad, in the hope of clarifying some of the wider issues relating to the study of Islam in the south Asian subcontinent.

PART II
CHISHTI * SUFISM AT KHULDABAD

6
From Delhi to the Deccan

What was the nature of the Chishti * establishment of Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* at Khuldabad? After having situated the historiographical problem of interpreting Sufi texts and documents from the Indo-Muslim courts, we are now in a position to construct a picture of the Sufi circle that surrounded Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* at Khuldabad. The enquiry must begin with a reconsideration of the historiography of Sufism in the Deccan, proposing an alternative to the "Warrior Sufi" hypothesis that Richard Eaton advanced with regard to Bijapur. Next follows a discussion of the Turkish conquest of the Deccan and the role of the Sufis, especially with regard to the transfer of the population of Delhi to the second capital in Daulatabad in 1329. Then, on the basis of the primary *malfuzat** texts, it will be possible to make a sketch of the Sufi organization in Khuldabad and the religious teachings and practices of Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* and his followers.[1] The picture is rounded out by a consideration of the interaction between these Sufis and the Indian cultural environment.

The Historiography of Sufism in the Deccan

It is difficult to form any coherent picture of the activities of Sufis in the Deccan before the invasions of the Khalji* sultans of Delhi and the Tughluqs' transplantation of the urban and literate Sufis of Hindustan to Daulatabad. Only the contemporary Persian writings of fourteenth-century Sufis and remarks by a few other chroniclers afford any reliable evidence about Sufis in the Deccan. The legends of Deccani Sufis in the biographical works of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are sketchy, while the oral material incorporated in nineteenth-century British gazetteers and modem Urdu hagiographies needs to be reconsidered in terms of their specific agendas, which have been discussed above (Part I, chap. 5).[2] The main problem is that the more recent works tend to distort by interpreting traditional material in terms of

contemporary issues and ideological conflicts, which did not even exist when the events under consideration occurred.

The difficulty of establishing a definite picture of Deccani Sufis in the absence of contemporary documentation can be seen from the example of the Junaydi * order, which has been recently studied by Muhammad Suleman Siddiqi. Some excerpts from `Ayn al-Din* Ganj al-`Ilm's (d. 795/1393) lost Arabic biographical work on Indian Sufism, *Atwar* al-abrar**, are preserved in a genealogical scroll in the Junaydi* shrine in Gulbarga compiled in the seventeenth century.[3] These excerpts are limited by the narrow purpose of an initiatic genealogy, which is designed to record the legitimacy of the transmission of Sufism to the recorder of the genealogy. Besides this unique fourteenth-century source, we are dependent on fairly recent dynastic chronicles and modern hagiographies for any account of the Junaydis*. What follows is the reconstruction of the Junaydi* order that can be gleaned from these recent works.

The first figure in this chain was `Ali* Jiwari*, a Sufi who grew up and studied in Delhi, went to Daulatabad in the general migration and is said to have died there in 734/1333-34.[4] One of his many students in Daulatabad was Siraj* al-Din* Junaydi*, a descendant of the famous Sufi Junayd Baghdadi*, after whom the order was named. He is said to have been born in Peshawar in 680/1281-82, arrived in Daulatabad in 707/1307-8, and moved on to Gulbarga in 770/1368-69, where he was buried in 781/1379-80.[5] The ease with which recent hagiographers record a date like 707/1307 for his arrival in the Deccan is a cause for suspicion, since there was at that time no establishment of religious scholars or Sufis in Daulatabad, prior to the migration from Delhi in 729/1329. He is generously credited with having converted many "idolaters" to Islam during his stay in the village of Kodchian after leaving Daulatabad. Minhaj* al-Din* Tamimi* also studied with `Ali* Jiwari* in Daulatabad, but is supposed to have left the capital for Gulbarga in 730/1330, much before his fellow students Siraj* al-Din* and `Ayn al-Din*.[6] `Ayn al-Din* "Ganj al-`Ilm" ("treasury of knowledge"), who was born in Delhi in 700/1300-1, studied in Daulatabad with `Ali* Jiwari*, Shams al-Din* Damghani*, and others until he went further south to Sagar in 737/1336-37, and to Bijapur in 773/1371-72 where he died in 795/1393. He was a prolific author in subjects such as history and Sufism, and had many disciples.[7]

In the cases of Siraj* al-Din* Junaydi* and `Ayn al-Din* Ganj al-`Ilm there is some documentation from a nonhagiographical source: Firishta in the early seventeenth century made a number of comments about the Junaydis'* relations with the Bahmani* court in Gulbarga, and also cited `Ayn al-Din's* historical treatise *Mulhaqat-i* tabaqat-i* Nasiri** as one of his sources.[8] On the basis of the above information, one may conclude that there were learned Sufis in Daulatabad who were not Chishtis*, who later migrated from Daulatabad to Gulbarga and Bijapur, although possibly not until after these cities became

prominent in the Bahmani * empire. Little else can be said about the Junaydi* order. Aside from an unproven assertion about one Sufi's role in converting Hindus to Islam, the modern hagiographer makes no attempt to characterize these Sufis except to extol their learning. They remain vague legends with giant shadows.[9]

The evidence of modern hagiographies and gazetteers about the development of Indian Sufism cannot be accepted at face value. The ideological concerns of these later works fall too easily into extraneous modern patterns that do not fit with the evidence from the earliest sources. Here it is necessary to give detailed consideration to the work of Richard Eaton in his well-researched and original study on *Sufis of Bijapur.* This was the first detailed monograph on the development of Sufism in the Deccan, and despite the particular criticisms that follow, Eaton's study must be considered as an original and ground-breaking study of Indian Sufism. In the absence of contemporary source material for this early period, Eaton was forced to rely on nineteenth-century sources for his analysis of the extension of Sufism to the Deccan frontier in Bijapur. Eaton did not have access to the fourteenth-century sources on the Sufis of Khuldabad, and did not take account of the position of Daulatabad in the development of Deccan Sufism. Using Bernard Cohn's geographical theory of "core zones" forming stable socio-political units and transitional "shatter zones" comprising unstable invasion and migration zones, Eaton described the Bijapur plateau as a "shatter zone" straddling the "cultural fault zone" between the Marathi and Kannada cultural areas.[10] This geographical view of Bijapur as a cultural frontier led Eaton to suggest that "Muslim influence either in the form of political power or the settlement of Sufis could find the most fertile soil in such a shatter zone where Islam represented a third culture system located between the nuclei of two non-Muslim cultures."[11] This intriguing notion does not apply at all to Daulatabad and Khuldabad, which formed a Muslim political center and a Sufi center in the former Yadava capital in the Maratha heartland. The successful transplantation of the Sufi tradition from Delhi to Daulatabad must be explained on other grounds than the geo-cultural frontier theory. Abandoning the frontier theory also requires a critique of its major concomitant, the controversial "Warrior Sufi" theory.[12]

In setting out the grounds for the Warrior Sufi theory, Eaton rightly saw that the British gazetteers had greatly exaggerated the role of Sufis in converting Hindus to Islam. Scholars who had relied on the gazetteers, like Thomas Arnold in his turn-of-the-century *Preaching of Islam,* accepted the picture of Sufis as peaceful missionaries in order to counteract the inaccurate image of Islam being spread by the sword. The problem with this image of Sufis as missionaries is that it was largely based on two late and tendentious historiographics: Mughul imperialism, which recast Sufis into the role of proclaimers of Mughul sovereignty, and the missionary Protestantism of British

administrators, an attitude so polemical that it called forth novel missionary and apologetic responses from Hindus, Muslims, and Sikhs.

Modern Muslims have accepted this image, especially since it also fit in with the desire of Indian-born Muslims to link their religious origins to eminent Sufi saints (see Part II, chap. 8, below). [13] Eaton dismissed the portrait of peaceful Sufi missionaries on the grounds that it was a legend based on a pious ideal of pacifism and concocted to serve the cult of saints; any tradition with cultic value, according to this view, is to be viewed with suspicion. Eaton therefore accepted the opposing traditions of Sufi militancy, on the grounds that no cultic value or saintly ideal was involved. Making comparisons with the frontier pickets (*ribats**) that Muslim warriors maintained in other parts of the Islamic world, he suggested that the Sufis were warriors (ghazis*, *babas**) associated with the armies of the Delhi sultans, and that for a period of perhaps half a century, between the Khalji* invasions and the establishment of the Bahmani* empire (i.e., from 1296 to 1347), militant Sufis played the most important role in establishing a Muslim presence in the southern frontier of the Deccan. "The Warrior Sufi thus appears as the most typical kind of Sufi during [this period]."[14] When examined in the light of the contemporary materials from the Sufis of Daulatabad, however, the examples and comparisons that Eaton used do not sustain the concept of "Warrior Sufis."

To begin from a methodological point of view, the Warrior Sufi theory is questionable at face value in its unconscious projection of the image of fanaticism. The concept of the Muslim fanatic is one that has a long history in European literature, but it reached its apogee in the age of European imperialism. The Sufi and dervish orders did in fact act as agents of opposition to colonial domination in many Islamic countries, primarily because they formed one of the only Islamic social institutions that endured when tottering political regimes fell under the blows of European expansion.[15] The European response was to paint a picture of Muslim fanaticism resisting the civilizing forces of modernity. Thus we find the "Mad Mullah" of Somalia, the fanatical mourids of the Caucasus, the crazed assassins who served the Pir Pagaro in Sind, and the various religious figures in India that the British called "Wahhabis." The phenomenon of self-sacrificing religious activism in the Islamic world is still poorly understood, whether it concerns the Isma`ili* "assassins" and Marco Polo's fiction of their hashish use or the modern problem of "terrorism" in the Middle East.[16]

In objecting to the terminology of "fanaticism," I obviously have in mind cases of demonstrated militant religious activism. Eaton's comparison of the Deccani Sufis to the *ghazi** religious warriors and *babas** of the Anatolian frontier and the early Safavi* state in Iran is inexact on this very point.[17] Contemporary sources show that the mystical philosophy and social role of the Chishtis* of Daulatabad differed markedly from that of the Turkish *babas** and the Safavis* in Iran, which both combined radical elements of Shi`ism* with

tribal military affiliations. The early Chishtis * were generally either urban Sufis with close connections to the court or else reclusive teachers who maintained their lodges in remote areas. Though there is no comparable documentation for the teaching activities of the early Bijapuri Sufis, the evidence does not permit us to characterize them as militant, and in fact scarcely permits any characterization at all. In cases where there is no firm evidence of militance, it is best to avoid descriptions of Sufis as people "who granted a quasi-mystical, quasi-militant leader an unquestioning and even fanatical obedience."[18]

Rejecting the legend of Warrior Sufis does not mean that we must rehabilitate the image of Sufis as pacifists who always disapproved of violence. Part of this discussion hinges on the use of the word "Sufi", whether we mean by this the self-conscious participants and interpreters of the Sufi tradition or the social-historical definition, which treats as a Sufi anyone popularly regarded as a saint within an Islamic milieu (Eaton's approach relies on the latter). If we follow the first approach, taking figures like Nizam* al-Din* Awliya'* as Sufis par excellence, then it is safe to say from the available evidence that he was not a warrior, but a literate urban religious figure. It is also true that all of the great Sufis of the Chishti* order had followers who were soldiers. Several of Burhan al-Din* Gharib's followers fought baffles against Hindu opponents as soldiers in the armies of the Tughluqs. These followers were not fully qualified successors (*khalifas**) of the shaykh, however, but something analogous to lay followers. The Chishtis* did not disapprove of the soldier's profession on principle, but regarded it as a worldly occupation that, like any other, limited the possibilities of spiritual advancement. Moreover, according to contemporary sources the military activities of Sufi disciples had no missionary or "communalist" flavor at all. My rejection of the image of Warrior Sufis simply means that the principal bearers of the Sufi tradition in India (i.e., the shaykhs) were in general full-time religious leaders, and did not themselves take part in military activities, though some of their followers did.

The evidence for the Warrior Sufi has intrinsic weaknesses, as in the story of Sufi* Sarmast of Bijapur, which shows signs of having been composed in recent times on the model of other legends of Deccani Sufis. In one version he was said to have come to the Deccan with seven hundred followers, with whose aid he baffled a Hindu raja and converted many Hindus to Islam. Another source maintained that he was an Arab who came to Mathura in northern India, and from there embarked for Sagar in the Deccan with 1,407 disciples riding in palanquins. Doubtless the numbers used here are to some extent based on multiplications of the mystical number seven. The reader familiar with the story of the Chishtis* of Daulatabad will not fail to see a striking resemblance in both versions of Sufi* Sarmast's story: the two brothers Muntajib al-Din* and Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* also are said to have come to

Daulatabad with either seven hundred or fourteen hundred disciples (the sources vary on this point), and their arrival in Daulatabad is commemorated by the "Masjid-i Chahardih * Sad* Awliya'*," the mosque of fourteen hundred saints. This tradition (discussed in detail below) is very old and occurs in a *malfuzat** text written by one of Burhan al-Din* Gharib's* disciples.[19] The number seven hundred (or its double, fourteen hundred) is probably significant as a round multiple of the sacred number seven, rather than as a statistical count of the migration of Sufis. The similarity in the number of disciples raises the suspicion that Sufi* Sarmast's disciples were assigned to him by a modern hagiographer in imitation of the Sufis of Daulatabad. Sufi* Sarmast's military exploits also begin to look questionable when compared with a nineteenth-century gazetteer's account of Burhan* al-Din* Gharib's* supposed militancy. According to this version, Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* came to the Deccan with fourteen hundred disciples considerably before 'Ala*' al-Din* Khalji's* invasion in 1294, and upon the latter's arrival assisted him in his siege of the fortress of Deogir.[20] This is clearly impossible, if we are right in assuming that Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* came to the Deccan over thirty years later. in the general migration imposed by Sultan Muhammad* ibn Tughluq in 1329.[21] If nineteenth-century legends projected an image of militancy onto the retiring and urbane Burhan* al-Din* Gharib*, they may certainly have done the same with Sufi* Sarmast. The similarities of these accounts of militancy are so close that they appear to have been coined in the same mint. This evidence suggests an interpretation of Warrior Sufi legends that Eaton considered but rejected: the tales of Sufis battling and converting Hindus may be a garbled interpretation of political history (the invasion from Delhi), in which conquerors were replaced by saints. The Warrior Sufi stories were folk-Muslim legends with complex origins that romanticized and legitimized the conquest of the Deccan.

The sources and motives for the legends of Warrior Sufis can partly be sought in the heroic songs of Indian bards, which provided models for the portrayal of saints as heroes. Eaton has rightly pointed out that some legends seem to confuse putative Sufis like Sufi* Sarmast with Turkish military leaders who fought Hindu rajas, so that "this represents a clear confusion of the Muslim hagiographic tradition with political history as remembered by Hindus of the area."[22] The opponent of Sufi* Sarmast, Kumara* Ram*, was by the sixteenth century the hero of epics and legends still found among the Hindus of Karnataka.[23]

A brief comparison of this finding with other legends of Indian leaders battling against the Turkish invaders suggests that these tales are part of a typical pattern of royal sagas and lays exalting the gestes of local heroes. Bardic composition in the service of royalty is a common literary genre that is well attested in Indian literature. This class of legends includes the heroic lays on the story of Prithviraj, the last Rajput king of Ajmer and Delhi, which

James Tod used in his antiquarian researches on the history of Rajasthan in the 1830s. Another example is Nainsi's * late bardic account of Raja Hammira*, which conflates the exploits of Hammira* with those of his descendants against the Turkish rulers of Malwa, erroneously maintaining that Hammira* captured Sultan Muhammad* ibn Tughluq in single combat, although in reality the two never met.[24] These legendary writings are essentially heroic, the presence of more or less religious language being an incidental accretion from a later age.

Developing a distinction put forward by Bruce Lawrence, we may hypothesize that the legends of Warrior Sufis derive from the saints' Indian followers (of whom only a portion may have formally become Muslims), who participated in the popular cult of pilgrimage to Sufi shrines. Nothing would be more natural for these Indian followers than to perceive the saints in terms of popular Indian heroes like Hammira* or Kumara* Ram*, and to make them into warriors capable of fabulous battles with recalcitrant Hindu rajas. In this way legend could remake a shadowy figure like Sufi* Sarmast into a hero, and from the likeness of a name portray Pir* Ma`bar K'handa'it* as a Hercules wielding an iron sword (from Hindi *k'handa*, "sword, bar").[25] Only from the modern point of view does it appear ironic that the Indian folk imagination has transformed popular Sufi saints into Muslim warriors righteously fighting the infidel. From this point of view, the hostility and violence that rajas are portrayed as offering to the Sufis appear to be elements of the dramatic tension necessary for a good story, not a historical account of the communalistic Hindu-Muslim confrontation of today.[26]

Another possible source for the Warrior Sufi legends was the converse religious process of warriors becoming saints, in which Turkish warriors' tombs became the centers of Muslim martyr cults, sometimes with underlying Hindu elements. The most famous and ancient of the saintly warriors was Salar* Mas`ud* of Bahraich in Uttar Pradesh, a soldier from Mahmud* of Ghazni's (d. 1030) time who is celebrated as Ghazi* Miyan* ("holy warrior"). Salar* Mas`ud's* annual festival is observed according to the Hindu calendar, and contains other Hindu features such as a sacred wedding and elements of sun worship. European observers have found it remarkable that as many Hindus as Muslims attend this festival, in honor of a figure whose main activity, according to the story, was killing Hindu infidels. One explanation for this phenomenon is that in this way both Hindus and Hindu converts to Islam could neutralize the exclusiveness and foreignness of official Islam by integrating it into existing popular religious structures. Thus Hindus have rationalized attending his festival by saying that, despite his violence against Hindus, he must have been on a divinely ordained mission to have succeeded so well.[27]

Many an abandoned Muslim tomb in India has become the focus of a vague sort of worship.[28] The large size of some tombs has often given rise to legends of saints nine feet tall (*naugaza*). It would not be surprising if soldiers

in the Deccan assumed after their death a saintly stature quite out of proportion with their earthly lives. Tombs were in any case a novel type of building in India, where cremation is the normal means of disposal of the dead; the only similar structures in Indian architecture were palaces, temples, and hero-stones. Thus it is natural to find the popular imagination attributing both royal heroism and saintliness to the tomb-dweller, regardless of who it may have been. We shall find that the same process of sanctification occured with the kings who were buried at Khuldabad and borrowed holiness from the tombs of saints (Part III, chap. 10, below).

This process of transformation of warriors and even ordinary people into martyrs and saints seems to have begun early, but it was especially common in the late fourteenth century and was often sponsored by royal patrons. A case of popular martyr veneration is the site of the oldest Islamic inscription still in place within India, at the tomb of one Ibrahim * ibn `Abd Allah* at Badreswar in Gujarat. The inscription of 554/1159-60 dates the tomb to the period before Turkish rule, and it clearly gives the name of the otherwise unknown occupant of the tomb. Locally` however, it is considered to be the shrine of La`l Shahbaz* (also the name of a famous saint of Sind), and legend tells of his death as a martyr fighting against the local Hindu raja.[29] An example from Rajasthan is the epitaph of the six martyrs of Bari Khatu, who are described in a Persian verse inscription attached to a graveyard wall. They are said to have attained martyrdom on the day of the `Id* festival in 761/1360, after repelling nine attacks by a force of two hundred horsemen.[30]

In Achalpur, a town in eastern Maharashtra, the legend of Shah* Dola `Abd al-Rahman* hearkens back to the heroic days of Mahmud* of Ghazni. Shah* Dola ("the bridegroom king") is supposed to have been a nephew of Mahmud*, and, like Salar* Mas`ud*, he was called away from his wedding to avenge a Hindu king's insult to a Muslim saint. In a massive battle in 378/988, he punished the king and dispatched many infidels to hell, at the same time cutting off his own head. His mother built him a tomb, but it eventually fell into neglect. So in 770/1368, he appeared to Sultan 'Ala*' al-Din* Bahmani* in a dream and ordered him to construct the present tomb.[31] In Malwa, Sultan Mahmud* Shah* Khalji* rebuilt in 859/1454-55 the tomb of Shaykh `Abd Allah* Shah* Changal*, and in an inscription he told how the saint with a large force of soldiers had destroyed the idols in a local Hindu temple and brought about the conversion of Raja* Bhoj* to Islam; this is supposed to have taken place either at the time of Mahmud* of Ghazna or at the beginning of the thirteenth century, at the time of the Khalji* invasion.[32] The same Sort of veneration of fallen Muslim warriors took place on the Anatolian frontier as well.[33] The involvement of royal patrons in the erection of shrines to martyrs suggests that the symbolism of holy war against infidels was politically useful to Muslim kings of the fourteenth century. Recent research suggests that the

symbolism of holy war in Anatolia was created retrospectively by official Ottoman historians, the religious scholars who worked in the bureaucracy. [34]

There is further reason to suppose that some Muslim rulers in India were quite aware of the tendency to deify kings and warriors, and that they deliberately played upon this religious impulse to advance their own fortunes. Otherwise it is difficult to explain the frequency with which we find reference to kings treated as saints. One of the disciples of the Chishti* leader Nasir* al-Din* "Chiragh-i* Dihli*" admitted to having made a pilgrimage to the tomb of Sultan 'Ala*' al-Din* Khalji* (d. 1296), where he tied a string to the tomb, as people did seeking to have their wishes fulfilled.[35] One of the more curious examples of veneration of kings is the "tomb" of Sultan Muhammad* ibn Tughluq's tooth, built in the village of Ranjani in the Bir district of Maharashtra, evidently during a Deccan campaign in the fourteenth century; one would like to know more about how this structure came to be built.[36] Two fourteenth-century kings of the sultanate of Ma`bar (Madura) in the far south died in battle with the rajas of Vijayanagar, and they are popularly revered as saints and martyrs.[37] Thanks to the writings of royal chroniclers, it is well known that Ahmad* Shah* Bahmani* (d. 1436) assiduously cultivated eminent Muslim mystics such as Gisu* Daraz* (d. 1422) in the Deccan and Shah* Ni`mat Allah* Wali* (d. 1431) from Iran, so that he himself received the title of "saint" (*wali**) and used it in his coins and inscriptions. He is still widely regarded as a holy man in the Deccan. It is less well known that at his annual festival at Bidar, which is celebrated by the Hindu calendar, the head of the Lingayats (a reform movement of Shiva worshippers) performs the chief rituals.[38] Ahmad* Shah* Wali's* son Ahmad* Shah* II (d. 1458) had close relations with Brahmans in spite of protests from Muslim religious scholars, and members of the Dattatreya cult eulogized him as their protector.[39] We may suppose that these kings and perhaps others anticipated Akbar in manipulating both Muslim and Hindu religious symbolism to secure legitimacy with all their subjects.[40]

To summarize, there is reason to question the geo-cultural frontier notion of Islamic expansion in the Deccan, and there are a number of alternate explanations that challenge the theory of Warrior Sufis, whether with respect to Daulatabad or Bijapur. Folk Indian origins combined with royal sponsorship may well be responsible for the martial attributes with which modern hagiographies clothed the Deccani Sufis, as well as for the saintly qualities assumed by otherwise worldly kings and soldiers after death. As a result, the legend of Warrior Sufis may have served cultic purposes far more profound than the later theory of peaceful Sufi missionaries. In order to understand the nature of the Sufi presence in Khuldabad, we shall have to abandon as well the notion, as old as al-Biruni, of the Arab-Islamic and Indic civilizations as static entities opposed at every point.[41] This abstraction covers up the complex interaction of lives, symbols, and societies in medieval India.

Map 2.
India after 1296

Sufism and the Turkish Conquest of the Deccan

It has long been recognized that the Turkish sultans' raids into Indian territories were not motivated by religious fanaticism or iconoclasm, but were quests for booty. Yet the sultans had in mind perennial strategic concerns on the northwestern frontier when they planned the raids on India. The Ghurid * sultans' attack on Hindustan in 602/1205-6 was a raid designed to raise funds to reequip armies depleted by war against the Khwarazm* Shah*; the ostensible goal was to raise a force against the pagan Qara Khitai Turks.[42] After the Ghurids'* conquest, the Turkish sultanate of Delhi continued to encroach on Indian territory to the east (the Gangetic plain and Bengal), but the rulers of Delhi had to be constantly on guard against attacks from the ancient northwest invasion route, which they themselves had followed. Mongol troops led by Chingiz* Khan* reached the Indus River in 1221, and continued to attack India for over a century, threatening Delhi itself in 1303 and 1327. Thus Sultan Balban in 1247 advocated raids on the Indian kingdoms as a means of acquiring the massive funds needed for fielding an army to defend against the Mongol threat.[43] 'Ala*' al-Din* Khalji's* surprise attack on Deogir (Devagiri*) in 1296 was certainly a remarkable success for Turkish arms, and it had the extra benefit of solving his personal problems at court with a smashing military victory and a triumphal return to Delhi; the vast wealth of Deogir put 'Ala*' al-Din* into a secure political position and strengthened his chances for succession to the throne. But the invasion of the Deccan was strategically a continuation of the Turkish sultans' policy of using the loot from Indian cities to strengthen defences against central Asian attackers. In this way campaigning against the Indian kingdoms was seen as a necessary part of the Delhi sultanate's battle for survival.

The Turks (then known in Sanskrit inscriptions as Turuskas* or Turukas) were known for their fighting ability in the Deccan considerably before the Khalji* invasion; the court poet Narendra briefly mentioned the Turkish cavalry in a Marathi composition presented in the Yadava court in 1291. Some skirmishes between Turkish troops and Yadava forces may have taken place as early as 1278, for a Sanskrit royal inscription of that year glorified Ramachandra Yadava as a "Great Boar in succouring the earth from the oppression of the Turukas."[44] 'Ala*' al-Din* Khalji* conceived his invasion of the Yadava kingdom well in advance, after learning of the wealth of Deogir during his highly successful raid on Malwa in 691/1292.[45] The raid was a secret project, which he concealed from his uncle, Sultan Jalal* al-Din* Firuz*. 'Ala*' al-Din* Khalji* had made up his mind to seize the throne, and his allies' demands for funds required him to amass an enormous booty. Deogir was too tempting a target to pass up. On the pretext of subduing the recalcitrant ruler of Chanderi in Malwa, 'Ala*' al-Din* departed in 695/1296. In a lightning raid, he surprised the raja in Deogir while the Yadava army was absent and obtained

his submission. The vast wealth that Deogir yielded up to plunder gave 'Ala *' al-Din* Khalji* the confidence to return to his estates in Kara and assassinate his uncle at their next meeting, only five months after his departure. He also married a daughter of the raja. Thereafter the Yadavas were technically tributaries of Delhi required to make annual payments, although in their inscriptions they continued to pretend independence, and even falsely claimed to have conquered Qannauj and Varanasi (Benares). An inscription of 1298, interestingly, is a grant for the maintenance of a mosque for Muslims in the Thana district, a sign that the Yadavas, like other Hindu rulers, regarded religion as irrelevant to their relations with the Turks.[46] In any case, the Yadavas administered their kingdom much as before.

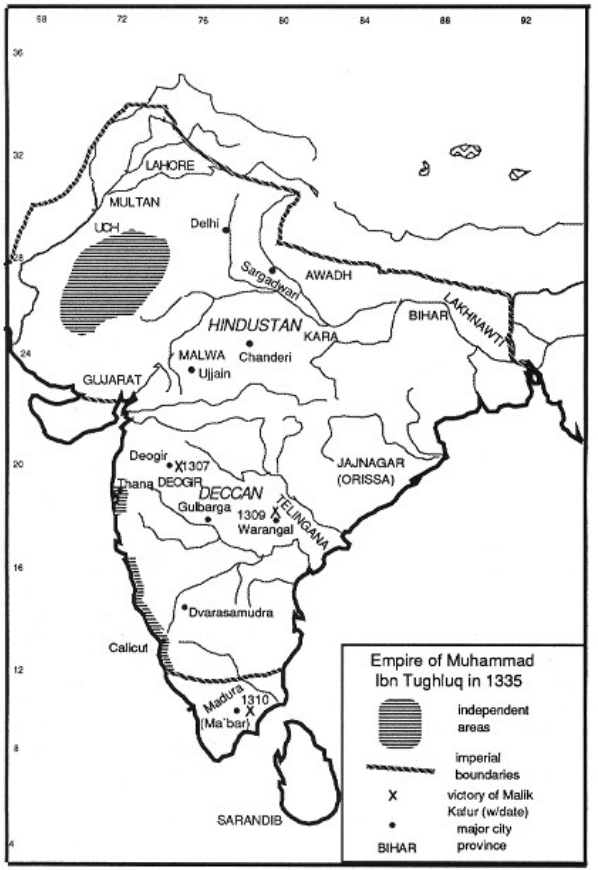
The collision of the Turks and the Yadavas produced not only military conflict, but at least one tragic romance, the story of Dewal Rani* and Khizr* Khan*. 'Ala*' al-Din* Khalji* had captured and married the queen of Gujarat, Kamala Devi*, after her husband fled before the armies of Delhi in 698/1299.[47] The Yadavas then began to neglect their tribute to Delhi, especially after seeing the failure of the sultan's invasion of the Deccan kingdom of Warangal in 1302-3. 'Ala*' al-Din* Khalji* sent his general Malik Kafur* with an army to punish the Yadavas. Malik Kafur* also had instructions to find the fugitive king of Gujarat and demand the princess Dewal, since her mother Kamala Devi* was pining away in Delhi and longed to see her daughter, who was still quite young. Singhana the crown prince of Deogir also sought the hand of Dewal, and so her father consented and sent her under escort to Deogir. Malik Kafur* still managed to capture her near Ellora and sent her to Delhi in 706/1307, where she grew up together with the sultan's son Khizr* Khan*. Though mere children at the time, the two fell in love, according to Amir* Khusraw's romantic poem *Dewal Rani* Khizr* Khan**, which was written mostly in 1315 at the request of the lovelorn prince and heir apparent. Eventually they were married, despite the initial opposition of Khizr* Khan's* mother, and the happy couple lived a life of pleasure and festivity, unaware that the scheming Malik Kafur* was estranging the sultan from his son. During the last illness of 'Ala*' al-Din*, the sultan was persuaded of Khizr* Khan's* rebellious intentions and had him imprisoned. Malik Kafur* seized the throne when the sultan died and had Khizr* Khan* blinded, but the usurper was himself assassinated, reportedly after forty days, in 717/1316. The blind prince and his princess lived for two comparatively happy years in Gwalior fort, until Qutb* al-Din* Mubarak* had Khizr* Khan* and other possible rivals killed after a cousin unsuccessfully attempted revolt.[48]

To return to events in the Deccan, the infamous Malik Kafur*, after sending Dewal Rani to Delhi, had time to compel a new submission from the Yadavas. He brought Raja Ramachandra himself as a captive to Delhi, where Sultan 'Ala*' al-Din* entertained him graciously for six months, so much so that Ramachandra remained loyal to Delhi in subsequent years. When the danger

of Mongol attacks on the northwestern frontier lessened, the sultan sent Malik Kafur * on another expedition to Warangal in 709/1309, this time asking Ramachandra to render assistance. The siege was successful, and the fortress yielded in 709/1310, enabling Malik Kafur* to return to Delhi loaded with booty.

By now the fantastic wealth acquired from the Deccan had whetted 'Ala*' al-Din's* appetite for more. Inspired by Malik Kafur's* reports of the kingdoms farther south, the sultan authorized the general to lead a new expedition. The army reached Deogir in 710/1311, where Yadava officers conducted them to the borders of the Hoysala kingdom centered at Dwarasamudra. There was constant warfare between the monarchs of the south, who never seem to have considered an alliance against the Turks. The Hoysala capital was undefended, since Raja Ballala was attacking his neighbors in Madura. Consequently Malik Kafur* easily forced the submission of Ballala and even forced him to lead the Delhi armies on to Madura. Great wealth from the temples of Srirangam and Chidambaram fell into Malik Kafur's* hands, though the Pandyan kings of Madura eventually succeeded in routing the Turkish forces. Muslim troops in the service of the Pandyan king resisted the invading Turks just like the other troops, and only submitted when the king retreated, indicating that here, too, religious factors were irrelevant to the invasion.[49] Still, Sultan 'Ala*' al-Din* was overjoyed at the treasures displayed on Malik Kafur's* return to Delhi in 711/1311.

Up to this point, the Delhi sultans' policy toward the Deccan was simply to raid its treasure-cities, but after the rebellion of Ramachandra's successor Singhana, they were drawn toward annexing the region. The expansion of the Delhi sultanate would ultimately strain its administrative resources to the breaking point, and conquest no longer permitted the ruthless appropriation of wealth that had been possible in formerly enemy territory. Malik Kafur* marched to Deogir to receive the tribute of the Hoysala king, and Singhana's revolt was crushed in 1313. Sultan 'Ala*' al-Din* had coins minted in Deogir, signifying its incorporation into his empire. Malik Kafur* extended a guarantee of peace to the local people and ruled leniently in Deogir until 1315. He then handed over the administration of Deogir to `Ayn al-Mulk so that he could attend on the sultan on his deathbed, but ambition overpowered him and led him to usurp the throne for a brief time. The confusion in Delhi permitted Harpala Devi, a son-in-law of Ramachandra, to seize Deogir and declare himself king. When the new sultan, Qutb* al-Din* Mubarak*, consolidated his authority late in 1317, he turned to the reconquest of Deogir. The Turkish army's devastation of the countryside cowed Harpala Devi into flight, but the last Yadava king was captured and executed in the presence of the sultan of Delhi. In 717/1317-18 Qutb* al-Din* renamed Deogir as Qutbabad* and had coins minted there to honor the event. Qutb* al-Din's* favorite, Khusraw Khan*, who had led the Delhi army on this expedition, remained in the Deccan to



Map 3.
Empire of Muhammad * Ibn Tughlug in 1335

quash a revolt by the newly appointed governor of Deogir, Malik Yaklakhi *, and unsuccessfully sought to conquer Ma`bar (Madura). New intrigues at court caused the sultan to summon Khusraw Khan* to Delhi, where accusations of treason proved all too true, as he assassinated Qutb* al-Din* in 720/1320 and assumed the title of Sultan Nasir* al-Din* for a few short months. Once again, Delhi's tributaries in the Warangal, Deogir, and Dwarasamudra became restive.

The accession of Ghiyas* al-Din* Tughluq took place in a chaotic political situation, but by 721/1321 he was ready to send his son Ulugh Khan*, the future Sultan Muhammad* ibn Tughluq, to establish control over all the tributary kingdoms of the Deccan. Another son, Mahmud* Khan*, was placed in charge of Deogir. In 1323 Ulugh Khan* succeeded in conquering both Warangal and Ma`bar, and he sent the kings of both countries in chains to Delhi. The new administration was actually unchanged from before, as Ulugh Khan* retained the Indian officials of the Deccan kingdoms in their places under the charge of Turkish centurions or commanders of one hundred (*amiran-i* sada**). Deogir now served as a useful fortress and staging area for the Tughluqs in subsequent Deccan campaigns. Ulugh Khan* turned northeast to invade Orissa in 1324, and then had to return to Delhi to face a new Mongol attack across the Indus.[50] As Sultan Muhammad* ibn Tughluq he ascended the throne in 725/1325, after his father died when a building collapsed on him. The Deccan continued to be turbulent, however, since the governor of Sagar, Baha'* al-Din* Gurshasp, soon staged an unsuccessful revolt in 727/1326-27, and the sultan pursued him to his refuge in the still independent kingdom of Kampila, and conquered it. It was at this time (728/1328) that Sultan Muhammad* ibn Tughluq decided to make Deogir (now called Daulatabad, "flourishing dominion") a second administrative capital of his empire, to ease the task of government. Administering the vast newly conquered territories proved to be too great a task for the Delhi sultanate, however. Warangal soon regained its independence, the governor of Ma`bar threw off his loyalty to Delhi in 734/1333-34, and in 1336 a former Hoysala officer founded the kingdom of Vijayanagar out of the ruins of Kampila.[51]

The original name of the city was Deogir or Devagiri*, and contemporary Persian writers continually use this name. The sultans of Delhi subsequently changed the name of the city, as is known from the coins minted there. Qutb* al-Din* Mubarak* Khalji* (r. 716/1316-720/1320) named it after himself as Qutbabad*, but his successors returned to calling it Deogir until Sultan Muhammad* ibn Tughluq revived the name Qutbabad* in 725-27/1325-27. Briefly Sultan Muhammad* ibn Tughluq turned back to the name Deogir in 727/1327, also calling the city Qubbat al-Islam* ("dome of Islam"), before settling on the name of Daulatabad in 728/1328.[52] Arab geographers knew Daulatabad as the second capital along with Delhi.[53]

Soon after establishing Daulatabad as second capital, Sultan Muhammad*

ibn Tughluq embarked on one of his most ambitious and controversial projects, to transfer the entire Muslim elite of Delhi to Daulatabad. Medieval authors like Ibn Battuta * and Barani* distorted and exaggerated the reasons for this move and its extent, maintaining that the sultan's decision was motivated by petty revenge, and that he completely depopulated the city of Delhi with this irrational decision (they commonly use the phrase "the destruction [*takhrib**] of Delhi"). Since Delhi still remained a capital, it is not possible to accept Barani's* claim that the capital was shifted to Daulatabad, and that Delhi was destroyed. Modern historians, beginning with Mahdi Husain, have shown both Delhi and Daulatabad were capitals, and that substantial policy reasons dictated the transfer of the Muslim religious classes from one city to the other. Since the move to Daulatabad was the basis for the establishment of a Sufi center in Khuldabad, it will be useful to review here the evidence for the sultan's program, and the various interpretations put upon it.

In preparation for the move, Sultan Muhammad* ibn Tughluq had way stations constructed on the road to Deogir in 727/1326-27. Then in 729/1328-29, the royal household left Delhi for the Deccan, and by royal command they were followed by the religious classes (sayyids, Sufis, *'ulama'**) and other notables. According to a royal chronicler, the sultan went to great pains to ease the transition by paying compensation for the houses left behind in Delhi, providing travel facilities, and offering free hospitality and gifts for the arrival in Daulatabad.[54] The sultan had carefully planned out the city of Daulatabad, with different quarters for the various classes of society, each with its own markets and other facilities.[55]

Nonetheless, writers from the religious classes unanimously condemned the sultan's motives and cruel methods in transferring the population to Daulatabad. Ibn Battuta* maintained that the sultan was annoyed by anonymous poison-pen letters that were left for him in the palace, and so decided to destroy the city.[56] The poet `Isami*, who championed the Bahmani* revolt, said that the sultan was suspicious of the people and wanted to weaken them.[57] `Isami* also said that the sultan's police dragged reluctant travelers from their homes by the hair and punished them. The journey apparently took place during the hot season, and inflicted a toll of suffering on the unfortunate people of Delhi.[58] The number of emigrants is difficult to estimate. Mahdi Husain's estimate of twelve hundred is apparently based on `Isami's* mention of six caravans and the figure of fourteen hundred Sufis given in the hagiographies, but this is not reliable in any statistical sense.[59] `Isami*, whose grandfather perished en route, claims that only a tenth of the emigrants survived the journey, but that appears to be as exaggerated as his claim that Delhi was emptied of all inhabitants.[60]

Sultan Muhammad* ibn Tughluq's aim in moving the Muslims to Daulatabad was not to depopulate Delhi. Only the Muslim elite were forced to move. `Isami* did not think it necessary to mention the Hindu population of

Delhi, saying only that this act was God's punishment of the Muslims for their corruption. Ibn Battuta's * statements about the complete depopulation of the city were exaggerations based on the universal displeasure of the Sufis and *'ulama'** forced to migrate to Daulatabad.[61] Barani* and `Isami*, when describing the removal of the inhabitants of Delhi, clearly only had the Muslims in mind. Sanskrit inscriptions of 1327 and 1328 indicate that Hindus were living and prospering in Delhi at that time.[62] In 1327 the sultan also embarked on a military construction program in Delhi, building walls to connect old Delhi to Siri, forming the area known as Jahanpanah*.[63] This would scarcely have been done if the sultan planned to leave the city. Daulatabad was not to be a replacement for Delhi. Delhi was still the main administrative capital, and coins continued to be minted there in 727/1326-27, 728/1327-28, and 729/1328-29.[64] When Ibn Battuta* saw Delhi in 734/1334, Jahanpanah* was a wonderful city showing no signs of having been destroyed.[65]

The transfer of the Muslim elite of Delhi to Daulatabad also had economic factors behind it. Sultan Muhammad* ibn Tughluq, in order to raise the huge army needed for his project of conquering Khurasan, had to increase the tax yield from the Gangetic farm lands, and the transfer of the Muslim residents had the effect of reducing consumption in the old city of Delhi, theoretically lightening the consumption demand on the farmers.[66] The Muslim residents according to Barani* included the elite and their households.[67] The army remained, and the Hindu peasantry was drafted into the Khurasan army and quartered in the empty sectors of the old city.

Sultan Muhammad* ibn Tughluq in moving the Muslim elite to Daulatabad wished to enroll them in his mission of world conquest. He saw their role as that of propagandists who would adapt Islamic religious symbolism to the rhetoric of empire. He apparently believed, like a number of modern interpreters, that the Sufis could by persuasion bring many of the inhabitants of the Deccan to become Muslims.[68] The goal of converting Hindus was for him primarily a means of advancing his own authority. The sultan's project had a certain plausibility. Hindus of means who cast themselves adrift from the moorings of caste society would have to attach themselves to the court to find a secure anchorage.

The principles and teachings of the early Chishti* Sufis encouraged resistance to the sultan's program. Employment in government service was forbidden to senior disciples, since it almost always involved actions disapproved of in Islamic law, such as accepting salaries derived from *non-shari'a** taxes. Moreover, acceptance of the sultan's travel directive was potentially in conflict with the territorial organization of *vilayat*-dominions*, the areas over which Sufi masters exercised authority.[69] To obey the sultan's command would mean giving his order precedence over that of the Sufi shaykh, thus violating the sanctity of the master-disciple relationship. In some individual instances, Nizam* al-Din* Awliya' permitted disciples to join military expedi-

tions as spiritual advisers or to remain in government service, but in most cases the tendency was to back away from engagement with the sultans.

Nizam * al-Din* Awliya'* did send some Chishtis* south from Delhi to Malwa and the Deccan before the migration to Daulatabad, not as part of a missionary scheme but to meet the needs of particular people. One such disciple was Shaykh Musa* Deogiri*, who came to visit and ask his advice.[70] Another was Burhan* al-Din* Gharib's* brother, Muntajib al-Din* (discussed below). Mir* Khwurd speaks respectfully of two brothers, `Aziz* al-Din* and Kamal* al-Din*, who came to their master Nizam* al-Din* Awliya'* and expressed the wish to travel somewhere. When they took leave of him, he gave each a *jalali** coin and said to Kamal* al-Din*, "You be in Malwa," and he told `Aziz* al-Din*, "You be in the domain (*vilayat**) of Deogir." Though `Aziz* al-Din* was dissatisfied with receiving a single coin, Kamal* al-Din* interpreted it as a sign of their future greatness (*jalal**, "majesty"). Mir* Khwurd remarks that "the lands of Deogir and Telang were all the followers and servants" of `Aziz* al-Din*, whom he had met before the latter's death in Deogir; Kamal* al-Din's* tomb in Dhar (Malwa) later became the resort of the people of that region.[71] Although these two brothers may have successfully extended the influence of the Chishti* order by their activities, their migration occurred partly due to their own initiative, and cannot be considered evidence for a Chishti* missionary movement.

Nizam* al-Din* also sent one eminent disciple out from Delhi at the request of a general who was leaving on a mission of conquest. Mir* Khwurd relates that Sultan 'Ala*' al-Din* Khalji* ordered one of his generals to take a large army to conquer the city of Chanderi in Malwa (Chanderi, a trading center south of Gwaliyar, was on the main route from Delhi to Deogir). The general (probably `Ayn al-Mulk Mahru*, who led the successful expedition against Chanderi, Dhar, Ujjain, and Mandu in 1305) was an adherent of Nizam* al-Din* Awliya'*. He approached the shaykh and asked that he send one of his disciples along, so that they should go with the shaykh's protection. Nizam* al-Din* Awliya'* agreed and appointed Wajih* al-Din* Yusuf* of Kilokhri, sending him along with the army. In the event, the general's attack was successful, and Yusuf* took up his abode there and became known as Yusuf* Chanderi*. In this instance, it was again at the request of another that Nizam* al-Din* Awliya'* sent this disciple on his mission.[72] A similar case was that of Shams al-Din* D'hari*, who had worked in the imperial treasury (*divan**) before becoming a disciple of Nizam* al-Din* Awliya'*. Though he expressed a desire to retire as a hermit, Nizam* al-Din* Awliya'* pointed out that it was no less important to come out from seclusion to benefit others, and he gave Shams al-Din* an inkpot to signify that he should return to worldly duties. Shams al-Din* received a land assignment (*iqta`**) in the Deccan from the government and was buried there.[73] Here too Nizam* al-Din* Awliya'* allowed a disciple to go to the Deccan in connection with the Tughluqs' imperial expansion.

But the Sufis did not wish to engage in the sultan's program of conversion of Hindus to Islam, since it was basically a program in the service of the empire. This reluctance to participate in Tughluq imperialism was evident in the case of an eminent disciple of Nizam * al-Din* Awliya'*, Shams al-Din* Yahya*, whom the sultan ordered to go to Kashmir and preach (*da`vat kun*) Islam in the idol-houses. Preaching in support of imperial expansion was not an activity the Sufi could engage in. The shaykh had a dream that Nizam* al-Din* Awliya'* was summoning him, and grew ill; Sultan Muhammad* ibn Tughluq assumed he was faking to avoid government service, and called him to court. The illness was genuine, however, and the shaykh died instead of following the sultan's order.[74]

As we have seen, the population that Sultan Muhammad* ibn Tughluq transferred to Daulatabad was primarily the religious and intellectual class, and the Chishti* writings tell of a number of Sufis who participated in this migration, often with great reluctance. Mir* Khwurd's youngest uncle, Shams al-Din* Sayyid Khamush*, who was a friend of Burhan* al-Din* Gharib*, died in Deogir in 732/1332.[75] Another of Nizam* al-Din* Awliya's* disciples who went to the south was Qazi* Sharaf al-Din* Firuzkuhi*, who used to read the poems of Hasan* Sijzi* with Mir* Khwurd; he died in Deogir.[76] The difficulty of flouting the sultan's order to live in Daulatabad is illustrated by the story of Nizam* al-Din's* learned successor Shaykh Fakhr al-Din* Zarradi*. He had once defied Sultan Muhammad* ibn Tughluq's attempt to force him into government service, but was constrained to join the emigrants to Daulatabad.[77] The story of his attempt to leave on pilgrimage to Mecca, which Mir* Khwurd told as a Chishti* teaching story, has already been discussed (Part I, chap. 5). The language of this account reveals the anxiety that religious officials felt about dealing with the capricious sultan. On hearing of Fakhr al-Din's* plan to leave Daulatabad, his friend, a judge, told him not to go, since "it is the Sultan's desire that this city should be famed to the ends of the earth because of the presence of scholars, shaykhs, and religious officials. And especially [you should not go] because he will be bound to oppress you." Fakhr al-Din* was supposedly inspired to sneak away at the instance of a fellow Sufi, Mir* Khwurd's father Sayyid Muhammad* Kirmani*.[78]

Another Sufi forced to go to Daulatabad was Shihab* al-Din* "the truth-teller" (*haqq-gu**), whom Ibn Battuta* described as having tragically fallen afoul of Sultan Muhammad* ibn Tughluq's temper. When the sultan first tried to enroll Shihab* al-Din* in government, the shaykh refused, and the sultan was so furious that he ordered the jurist Ziya'* al-Din* Sunami* to pluck out Shihab* al-Din's* beard. The jurist refused, so both he and the shaykh had their beards plucked out. The sultan then sent Ziya'* al-Din* to Telengana, where he later became qazi* of Warangal, and he sent Shihab* al-Din* to Daulatabad for seven years. Shihab* al-Din* then earned his nickname *haqq-gu** after he returned to Delhi, at a time when the sultan had commanded everyone to call him "Sultan

Muhammad * the Just."[79] Shihab* al-Din* told the sultan to his face that he was a tyrant and enumerated his injustices, including the ruining of Delhi—the transfer of population to Daulatabad. The sultan's response was to have the shaykh brutally killed, a curious proof of his justice.[80]

Despite the sultan's elaborate plans, the migration to Daulatabad backfired politically to the extent that it generated intense resentment and opposition among those forced to emigrate. The venture was also a failure from an economic point of view. With revolts in Telangana and Ma`bar dissolving the short-lived Taghluq control of the south, and with the devastation caused by bubonic plague in the Deccan and famine in Hindustan, Sultan Muhammad* ibn Tughluq permitted the transplanted Delhiites to leave Daulatabad, probably in 1335.[81] The abandonment of the Daulatabad project was due to the financial reverses that the empire suffered. Incorporation of the Deccan into the empire was more of a financial drain than the old raiding ventures with their low overhead. Consequently, after the sultan's attempts at currency reform failed to remedy the deficit problem, the Khurasan expedition was called off. Instead of bankrolling Tughluq expansionism into central Asia, the Deccan had emptied the Delhi treasury.

Some Sufis and scholars who came to Daulatabad remained and went on to other urban centers in the Deccan, helping to consolidate that Islamic intellectual tradition in the south, which was to some extent what Sultan Muhammad* ibn Tughluq had wished for in ordering the migration. Texts surviving from this period indicate the extent of the dissemination of Islamic culture under the Tughluqs in the Deccan. In the field of belle lettres, Hajib-i* Khayrat* Dihlawi* in 1342 had access to the full range of Persian literature when he compiled a Persian dictionary entitled *Dastur* al-afazil** (*The canon of the learned*), which he dedicated to a Tughluq official in Gogi (Gulbarga district, Karnataka).[82] In Islamic law, Karim* Khan* Nagawri* wrote an extensive work on Islamic ritual, *Majmu`-i* Khani** (*The khan's* collection*), along with an equally large sequel, both of which were sponsored by an official of Daulatabad, Bahram* Khan*.[83] Zayn al-Din* Shirazi* studied the Islamic religious sciences with some eminent scholars in Daulatabad.[84] Others came to Daulatabad after the principal migration of 729/1328-29. One of Mir* Khwurd's uncles, Qutb* al-Din* Sayyid Husayn* Kirmani* (d. 752/1351), accompanied the wazir Ahmad* Ayaz* Khwaja-i* Jahan* to Daulatabad in 732/1331-32. Though he did not wish to go, he could not gainsay the command of Sultan Muhammad* ibn Tughluq; he did, however, manage to persuade the wazir to permit him to retain his Sufi dress and be exempt from government service.[85]

The migration of the Delhi Muslims to Daulatabad had the permanent effect of consolidating the social and cultural traditions of Hindustan in the Deccan. Although some returned to Delhi, those who had put down roots remained to raise their families and tend the graves of those who died.[86] When

the sultan gave the order that those who wished to return to Delhi might do so, some did. According to Barani *, two or three caravans of people made the return journey, while those with families settled there remained.[87] Khwaja* Taj* al-Din* Dawari*, an ardent disciple of Nizam* al-Din* Awliya'* who was often absorbed in *sama* '*, died on the return march to Delhi and was carried on to be buried there.[88] Mawlana Shihab* al-Din* Imam*, who used to lead prayers for Nizam* al-Din* Awliya'*, had gone to Deogir and taken on a number of disciples, but he returned to Delhi and died there.[89] When Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* became seriously ill in 735/1334, his disciples began to pack his belongings, intending to take him back to Delhi. He refused to leave, however, and pointed to the spot where he did his devotions, declaring that he would be buried here.[90] Islam and the Sufi tradition had been transplanted to Khuldabad.

7
Burhan * al-Din* Gharib's* Establishment and Teaching

The Khalifa* of Nizam* al-Din*

What kind of a person was Burhan* al-Din* Gharib*, and what was his position in the Chishti* order as a Sufi teacher? From his own remarks as preserved in the *malfuzat** texts, we can construct a picture that is suggestive, with some details. While his family had some religious leanings, they seem not to have encouraged his Sufi vocation very much. He has referred to twin uncles, one of whom taught Islamic law in Daulatabad.[91] He tells a story of his father having preserved a curious document, with the aid of which certain spirits would give one immunity from disturbance.[92] His impulse toward religion was precocious, manifesting long before he reached the age of legal responsibility; he recalls acting as imam at the `Id* festival when he was seven years old.[93] At the age of six or seven, he would say the confession of faith and retire into a room to perform *zikr.* At sixteen he decided to remain celibate against his mother's wishes, and fasted continually until she finally gave up her insistence that he marry.[94] Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* at the age of seventeen used to repeat the confession of faith as a spiritual practice, but his father could not distinguish between that and his studies of the standard religious curriculum.[95]

The exact nature of the authority of Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* within the order has been variously interpreted in later hagiographies, and it is best to begin with the evidence found in the *malfuzat** texts. Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* himself has described his relation with Nizam* al-Din* Awliya'* in terms suggesting a very close spiritual relationship, in which he has directly inherited the substance of the authority of the Chishti* masters. Nizam* al-Din* Awliya'* commented on Burhan* al-Din* Gharib's* jealousy with regard to other vlsi-

tors. [96] Nizam* al-Din* observed, "Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* has both eyes on me and does not attend to any other."[97] Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* mentioned how he vigorously defended Nizam* al-Din* Awliya'* and the practice of *sama`* against hostile criticism.[98] He also instructed a visitor in manners, when the latter had said something offensive to Nizam* al-Din* Awliya'*.[99] He stated in 733/1333 that he had followed the path of Nizam* al-Din* Awliya'* for forty years (a number symbolic of perfection), and only on four occasions had he been forced to ask directly for the latter's help.[100] His disciples recorded of him that never in his life did he disrespectfully turn his back toward his master's tomb in Ghiyaspur (a suburb of Delhi).[101] During the last few years of his life, which were marred by constant illness, Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* once confessed that he only remained alive in order to fulfil the instructions of Nizam* al-Din* Awliya'*.[102]

The nature of Burhan* al-Din* Gharib's* discipleship is partly indicated by other anecdotes from the *malfuzat**, which depict Nizam* al-Din* presenting him with the initiatic regalia of the Chishtis* and confirming his spiritual status. Burhan* al-Din* described himself as having received from Nizam* al-Din* Awliya'* the "essential" hat of initiation, as opposed to the hat of ordinary discipleship.[103] On the journey from Delhi to Daulatabad, Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* had a cot carded alongside him, in which was the staff of Nizam* al-Din*.[104] When Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* was on his deathbed, he called for Nizam* al-Din's* rosary.[105] Other less tangible evidence also attests to the high regard that Nizam* al-Din* had for his disciple. At their first meeting, Nizam* al-Din's* attendant announced that Burhan* al-Din*, a poor man (*gharib**) had arrived; the shaykh remarked that he is indeed poor now, but the whole world will come to know him (thus conferring upon him the epithet *gharib**).[106] Nizam* al-Din* Awliya'* is quoted as saying, "Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* is with the majmu`* [`the group']," apparently meaning the group of those who are saved.[107] Nizam* al-Din* Awliya'* pronounced the Qur'anic* passage, "Today I have perfected your religion and completed my bounty to you" (Qur'an* 5.3), in reference to Burhan* al-Din* Gharib's* spiritual perfection, when he gave the latter dominion (*vilayat**) over the Deccan.[108] When a number of disciples one day were discussing the famous Sufi Bayazid* Bistami*, Nizam* al-Din* Awliya'* remarked, "We too have a Bayazid*," indicating Burhan* al-Din* Gharib*.[109] At their last meeting, Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* requested from Nizam* al-Din* Awliya'* the gift of being under the direct spiritual observation (*nazar**) of Farid* al-Din* Ganj-i Shakkar.[110]

A different evaluation occurs in the standard biographical notice of Burhan* al-Din* Gharib*, from the pen of Mir* Khwurd, whose hagiographical writing has been discussed above (Part I, chap. 4 and 5). Mir* Khwurd's initial account of Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* is very laudatory, and described some aspects of the shaykh's ecstatic personality very well:

> He was an example in the matter of belief among the foremost lovers, and he preceded most of the foremost lovers in discipleship. He was a good balm to those disappointed in love and passion, and he was a good remedy for the pain of the lovers and jesters of the day, so that Amir * Khusraw and Mir* Hasan* [Dihlawi*] and other lovers became captivated by his love, because of his graceful nature and passion. . . . In *sama`* this saint was completely extreme, experienced much ecstasy, and said the prayers of lovers. He had a distinctive style in dancing, so that the companions of this saint were called "Burhanis*" among the lovers. Whoever was in the presence of this saint for an hour fell in love with the beauty of his saintliness, because of the ecstasy of his passionate words and the purity of his enchanting conversation. There was no better master than he to show the way to servants of God in belief and love. The author many times had the happiness of kissing the feet of that saint, and became captivated by his passionate words.[111]

This early account by one who knew him was widely quoted in later descriptions of Burhan al-Din* Gharib*.[112] In the Chishti* order at large, then, Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* was regarded as an old and dedicated disciple of Nizam* al-Din*. He was distinguished for his ecstatic temperament and his love of musical sessions.

Yet in the subsequent sections of this biographical notice, Mir* Khwurd focuses on two incidents that show Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* in a less than flattering light. The first occurred when Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* started using a doubled carpet to sit upon, because of his physical weakness. When the news was brought to Nizam* al-Din*, he became extremely displeased, because he was told that Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* was setting himself up as a master and sitting on the carpet of authority while Nizam* al-Din* was still alive. Nizam* al-Din* consequently banished the unfortunate Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* from his presence, and it was only after Amir* Khusraw made a very theatrical intercession that Nizam* al-Din* consented to forgive his old and distraught disciple.[113] The other incident was the manner in which Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* obtained investiture as a *khalifa** of Nizam* al-Din*. In this version, one of Mir* Khwurd's uncles and some other disciples decided to request Nizam* al-Din* to honor Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* with *khilafat** as others had been honored (the incident would thus be dated to the last months of Nizam* al-Din's* life, when he was quite ill). With the aid of Nizam* al-Din's* personal attendant Iqbal*, they brought Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* to see Nizam* al-Din* while the latter was resting, presented some articles of Nizam* al-Din's* clothing, which he then blessed, and in Nizam* al-Din's* presence announced that Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* was now a fully qualified *khalifa**. Nizam* al-Din's* silence was construed as approval.[114]

These two incidents have led some to regard Burhan * al-Din* Gharib* as a nice but doddering old man who offended his master and was only made *khalifa** because of special pleading.[115] Despite a longtime residence in the Deccan, and an apparent fondness for the shaykh, Mir* Khwurd closed his account of Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* with the barest mention of the latter's sojourn there, adding only that Burhan* al-Din* Gharib's* tomb "today is the pilgrimage center of the people of that region." Although Mir* Khwurd had admired Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* personally, he had fallen away from Sufism when he served in the administration in the Deccan, and so had not kept in touch with Chishti* circles in Daulatabad. Since his reconversion to Sufism had taken place when he returned to and met Chiragh-i* Dihli*, it was only natural that he regard the latter as the central figure in Chishti* Sufism.

The other follower of Chiragh-i* Dihli* who commented negatively on Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* was Muhammad* al-Husayni* "Gisu* Daraz*" (d. 825/1422), so named for his long tresses of hair. According to his oldest biography, Gisu* Daraz* had gone with his father to Daulatabad from Delhi in 725/1325, at the age of four, at the time of Muhammad* ibn Tughluq's enforced transfer of the population to the new capital (that event actually took place four years later, in 1329). He remained there for eight more years until he returned to Delhi, and there he became a disciple of Chiragh-i* Dihli* in 733/1333 at the age of twelve.[116] Gisu* Daraz* cannot have had much significant contact with Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* during his childhood years in Daulatabad, but many years later, when he passed through the Deccan again, he recalled hearing Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* predict that Gisu* Daraz* would obtain spiritual guidance from Chiragh-i* Dihli*. In a conversation recorded in 802/1400, Gisu* Daraz* discribed the relationship between Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* and Chiragh-i* Dihli* as that of disciple to master.[117] According to Gisu* Daraz*, "Mawlana* Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* had perfect faith in our shaykh, saying just this: 'If I had not been connected to the revered Shaykh al-Islam* Nizam* al-Din*, I would be connected to Mawlana* Mahmud* [Chiragh-i* Dihli*].'"

Gisu* Daraz* illustrated the spiritual superiority of Chiragh-i* Dihli* by several anecdotes. In the first story, Burhan* al-Din* Gharib's* associates criticize Chiragh-i* Dihli* for an apparent lapse of manners, but he is vindicated. In the second, Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* approaches the meditating Chiragh-i* Dihli*, led by Gisu* Daraz* himself (who would have been less than four years old at the time), and humbly begs Chiragh-i* Dihli* to pray for him. The third incident was a letter that Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* wrote expressing his admiration and sympathy for Chiragh-i* Dihli* during the sufferings inflicted upon him by the sultan. Gisu* Daraz* reflected that it was this suffering that caused Chiragh-i* Dihli* to inherit the saintly authority (*vilayat**) of Nizam* al-Din*, which was later transmitted to Gisu* Daraz* himself. The trend in these stories is to stress Burhan* al-Din's* recognition of Chiragh-i* Dihli* as the true successor of Nizam*

al-Din * and as his own spiritual superior. Gisu* Daraz* complained, however, that some of Burhan* al-Din* Gharib's* associates (in the circle of Ya`qub* Chanderi*) had erroneously supposed that Chiragh-i* Dihli* had learned something about Sufism from Burhan* al-Din* Gharib*; Chiragh-i* Dihli* according to him hotly denied this and said it was quite the reverse: "If some words of dervishes have reached the hearing of Mawlana* Burhan* al-Din*, they have come from this very person [i.e., from me]." Gisu* Daraz* was concerned to praise Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* faintly and to preserve the prestige of Chiragh-i* Dihli* (and by extension Gisu* Daraz*) as the true successor of Nizam* al-Din*.

What are we to make of the discrepancies between these accounts of the status of Burhan* al-Din* Gharib*? The negative evaluations of Burhan* al-Din* Gharib's* position come primarily from the followers of Chiragh-i* Dihli*, who viewed him as having succeeded to the authority of Nizam* al-Din*. In addition to Mir* Khwurd and Gisu* Daraz*, Hamid* Qalandar also proclaimed the authority of Chiragh-i* Dihli* by elevating him above Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* (above, Part I, chap. 4). Yet the accounts of how Nizam* al-Din* named his successors do not suggest that any of his followers received a preeminent position. Mir* Khwurd has described the way Nizam* al-Din* chose the leading disciples from a list of thirty-two candidates, and drew up their diplomas (*khilafat-namas**) according to a strict procedure that Farid* al-Din* Ganj-i Shakkar had employed. This all took place on 20 Dhu* al-Hijja* 724/20 December 1324, not long before Nizam* al-Din's* death on 18 Rabi`* I 725/12 March 1325.[118] Although in that passage Mir* Khwurd did not indicate the exact number of *khalifas**, his organization of the chapter on Nizam* al-Din's* *khalifas** makes it clear that there were ten.[119] As Simon Digby has pointed out, Nizam* al-Din* did everything he could to discourage competition among his successors; at the time of the investiture of Shams al-Din* Yahya* and Chiragh-i* Dihli*, he minimized the slight precedence given to the former and caused the two to embrace.[120] There is little evidence that any of the *khalifas** of Nizam* al-Din* actually vied with one another, but their followers in the next generation could not help playing the game of one-upmanship.

The lesser known Deccan tradition deriving from Burhan* al-Din* Gharib's* followers shows an entirely different picture, however, in which his critics were refuted. Azad* Bilgrami* minimized the incident of Nizam* al-Din's* anger with Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* over the carpet, arguing that it was just a case of backbiting.[121] Mir* Khwurd's story of Burhan* al-Din* Gharib's* *khilafat**, however, posed greater problems; Azad* simply repeated it without comment.[122] Azad's* translator leaped to the defense, though, pointing out that Burhan* al-Din* Gharib's* own references to this event contrasted with Mir* Khwurd's description; instead of using the silence of an ailing saint to approve his own nomination as successor, Burban* al-Din* Gharib* specified the precise oral instructions that Nizam* al-Din* gave him when authorizing him to teach.[123] Mir* Khwurd's account of this event seems to belong to the class of rumors regarding Nizam* al-Din's* feebleness in the month before his death, which

some had used to question the credentials of certain *khalifas* *. Mir* Khwurd himself had hastened to dismiss these rumors, arguing that Nizam* al-Din* was still quite vigorous at the time of the selection of the ten *khalifas**.[124] Other late hagiographers insisted that Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* had been the first *khalifa** invested by Nizam* al-Din*, and they proceeded to enumerate the sacred Chishti* regalia with which he was entrusted.[125]

Burhan* al-Din* Gharib's* followers regarded him as the "world-axis" (*qutb-i* `alarm**), the supreme figure in the Sufi hierarchy.[126] His reputation became widespread in the Deccan during his lifetime. One of his disciples, Mahmud* of Lajwara, had been a businessman in Ma`bar, some hundreds of miles to the southeast of Daulatabad, and after becoming a recluse was told by a mysterious saint to seek the perfect master Burhan* al-Din* Gharib*. He has recently arrived in Daulatabad, said the man, and compared to others he is like the sun compared to the moon. When Mahmud* came to Daulatabad, Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* without being told described the personal appearance of the saint of the south.[127]

Each *khalifa** of Nizam* al-Din* was surrounded by disciples who necessarily tended to see their master as the one supreme successor to Nizam* al-Din's* authority. This quest for paramountcy was reflected in the images of Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* in the writings of his own circle as contrasted with the circle of Chiragh-i* Dihli*. Among Chiragh-i* Dihli's* followers, it was well known that Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* was an older disciple of Nizam* Din*, and that Chiragh-i* Dihli* had often stayed with Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* when he came from Awadh to see Nizam* al-Din* in Delhi. The relationship between the two men thus became a matter of some concern, and the writings of Hamid* Qalandar, Mir* Khwurd, and Gisu* Daraz* show a tendency to belittle the spiritual stature of Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* and enhance the status of Chiragh-i* Dihli*. Due to the continued prominence of the Delhi branch of the Chishtis*, and by dint of repetition in later biographical texts, this picture of the relationship between the two has come to dominate the later Chishti* perspective. The discrepancies between the different evaluations of Burhan* al-Din* Gharib's* status, then, derive from competing historiographies within the Chishti* order. For the historian, it is not necessary to decide which is the "correct" version. The most interesting conclusion to be drawn from the variance of the sources is the extent to which the concept of undivided transmission of authority was a driving force in the social implementation of Sufism. Despite Nizam* al-Din's* clear unwillingness to designate a single successor, later constructions could not resist the temptation to draw a single line of initiatic transmission connecting Sufi disciples to Nizam* al-Din* and, ultimately, to the Prophet.

The Sufi Master

The authority of the Sufi master elicited a corresponding devotion in the disciple. From anecdotes and remarks in the malfuzat* texts, it is possible to

form a picture of the master-disciple relationship that was formulated in the Chishti * order. Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* gave the following description of the ideal Sufi master:

> The perfect master and teacher is that one who is both lover and beloved, both the seeker and the sought, both the impassioned and the impassioning, both the perfect and the perfected, both the enraptured wayfarer and the wayfaring enraptured one, both the astonished and the absorbed. His way is sometimes intoxicated and sometimes sober, at times absorbed and at times effaced. The master is the guide and exemplar.[128]

In theory, the master should be able to comprehend all sides of the complex teaching situation.

The Sufi master-disciple relationship was not conceived of as anything foreign to Islamic tradition. On one occasion Zayn al-Din* Shirazi* raised the question of devotion to the master from the perspective of Islamic law. Is it not the case, he asked, that following the master is an additional duty above and beyond that of following the Prophet, and is it not incumbent upon the elect? In that case, contemplating the master is like reciting the *Fatiha**, or other practices derived from prophetic example (*sunnat*), like using the saltshaker and praying over food. Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* replied that he wholly concurred with this position.[129]

Frequently Chishti* disciples were depicted demonstrating their reverence for their masters in remarkable ways. Rukn al-Din* Kashani* once was summoned to go to Delhi by post-relay, accompanying Sultan Muhammad* ibn Tughluq on horseback. Rukn al-Din* rode the whole way with his back to Delhi and his face turned to Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* in the direction of Daulatabad. On the trip, every morning after prayer he placed his face on the ground in the direction of his master before proceeding on his way. On hearing of this reverential attitude, Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* said, "his appointment (*gumashta**) is right (haqq*), for a person who does thus is appointed by God."[130] In a similar way, Qutb* al-Din* Dabir* was going to perform pilgrimage to Nizam* al-Din*, and as soon as he saw the dome (*qubba*) of his tomb, he got off his horse and put his face on the ground, performing the rest of the pilgrimage on foot.[131]

It was also expected that disciples once initiated would no longer make indiscriminate visits to other Sufi masters, if that might detract from their concentration upon their master. Once Rukn al-Din* Kashani* had returned from a trip to Delhi, whereupon Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* asked him about the Sufi masters he had seen there. After Rukn al-Din* mentioned whom he had visited, Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* went on to relate a story about a dervish who had expressly forbidden his son to even look at other Sufis. Rukn al-Din* became understandably upset upon hearing this account, since he was afraid

that his master supposed that he had sought these other Sufis out as teachers. [132]

Likewise the obedience of the disciple to the master's instructions was considered to be essential. Mahmud* of Lajwara was an ascetic from Ma`bar who had once been initiated and shaven (as was customary) as a disciple of Burhan* al-Din* Gharib*. When it became evident that he was regrowing his hair and only performed supererogatory prayels instead of obligatory rituals, Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* severely reproved him for his bad behavior.[133] Nizam* al-Din* Awliya'* would sometimes redirect disciples who had decided to go on the hajj* pilgrimage to Mecca. To one disciple, Nizam* al-Din* observed that from Delhi to Ghiyaspur is nearer than going on *hajj**, meaning that it was more important for the disciple to visit Nizam* al-Din*. Burhan* al-Din* Gharib's* comment on this advice was that when visiting dervishes one should form the intention entirely for God, and then God blesses every step with the reward of the *hajj**.[134]

Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* was probably as learned as most of the other successors of Nizam* al-Din* Awliya'*, but he was not a specialist in Islamic law.[135] In this respect he differed considerably from his friend and younger contemporary, Nasir* al-Din* Mahmud* Chiragh-i* Dihli*. The later biographer of the Khuldabad Sufis, Azad* Bilgrami*, observed that "the path of Shaykh Nasir* al-Din* Mahmud* and most of his successors was the observance of the exemplary practices of the prophetic law and the practice of teaching the religious sciences."[136] The writings of the disciples of Chiragh-i* Dihli* are in fact mostly studies of Islamic law. and ritual from the perspective of Sufi piety.[137] And it was not accidental that when Hamid* Qalandar tried to flatter Chiragh-i* Dihli* in comparison with Burhan* al-Din* Gharib*, he praised Chiragh-i* Dihli* as a religious scholar equal to the founder of the Hanafi* legal school, which has always been dominant in India. "Lord! Mawlana* Burhan* al-Din* was a dervish who attained union, but the revered master [Chiragh-i* Dihli*] is an Abu* Hanifa* in learning, and in asceticism and mastery he is the Shaykh Nizam* al-Din* of the age."[138] The title that Hamid* Qalandar gave to the *malfuzat** of Chiragh-i* Dihli*, *Khayr al-majalis** (*The best of assemblies*), is an indirect reference to the religious sciences, recalling the saying that "the best of assemblies is that in which discussion of religious learning (*`ilm*) takes place."[139]

Once Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* recalled comparing notes with Nasir* al-Din* Mahmud* about what extra petitions they recited during the special prayers (*tarawih**) performed in Ramazan*. Typical of the difference in temperament between the two, Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* recited a Persian couplet on seeking union with God, while Chiragh-i* Dihli* uttered an Arabic prayer seeking forgiveness for all humanity.[140] In the *malfuzat** of Burhan* al-Din*, works on law are rarely mentioned, but the discourses of Chiragh-i* Dihli* frequently cite legal and theological texts.[141] Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* once mentioned to Nizam* al-Din* that he had as a child played the part of prayer leader (*imam**) for

his playmates, but that he preferred to be a dervish rather than a preacher (*khatib* *); Nizam* al-Din* concurred and told him he would not be a preacher.[142] Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* was impatient with the sterile debates of scholars about the precise manner of washing the hands during ablutions, or the reason for the order of the *suras** of the Qur'an*; for him it was more important to exert oneself for the benefit of others.[143] "Our order," he said, "is known for two things: love and compassion."[144]

Islamic learning was nonetheless highly valued in the circle of Burhan* al-Din*. Rukn al-Din* Kashani* in his speculative work *Shama'il** *al-atqiya'**, written with the approval of Burhan* al-Din*, made use of many classical works of Qur'anic* commentary, *hadith**, and law, in addition to writings on Sufism.[145] *Hadith** texts were frequently quoted, sometimes interpreted as psychological allegories, as in the saying, "An angel does not enter a house in which there is a dog or a picture on the wall." The dog, in Burhan* al-Din* Gharib's* view, symbolizes the carnal soul (*nafs*), while the pictures stand for the love of things other than God.[146] Some of the stories told by Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* are stock teaching stories that can be found also in classical authors such as al-Ghazali*.[147] Zayn al-Din* Shirazi* was also very learned in the religious sciences, though this training took place before he became interested in Sufism.[148] On occasion Zayn al-Din* Shirazi* demonstrated his learning in regard to difficult terms from the Qur'an*.[149] Yet law and scholarship were not subjects that Burhan* al-Din* emphasized for their own sake. Rukn al-Din* Kashani's* discussion of ritual and legal subjects typically considers them primarily in order to introduce the inner dimension of such practices. Hamid* Qalandar may have been correct in calling Burhan* al-Din* Gharib primarily a dervish—a practicing Sufi, rather than a scholar.

Burhan* al-Din* Gharib's* style as a teacher was simple and direct, drawing on a wealth of Sufi narratives and his own vivid metaphors to convey points to listeners. When a fasting visitor declined to partake of a meal, Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* proceeded to tell (with a number of digressions) a series of six stories that emphasized the danger of arrogance for those who fast. In each of the stories, accepting the gift of food from a Sufi saint turns out to be the source of spiritual blessings. We are not told whether the visitor eventually was persuaded to join the meal, but the hint must have been unmistakable.[150] To give an illustration of humility in prayer, Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* gave the example of grass, which is in prostration until it dies. Its mouth faces downward to drink water, and likewise in prayer it is natural to turn the mouth to one's source in prostration.[151] Speaking of renunciation of the world, Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* first likened the world to a shadow, which always sticks to one's body. Since one's shadow can only be faced by mining away from the sun, the world can only be embraced by turning away from God. Continuing with a switch of metaphors, he said that unless one renounces the world, then prayers are like the struggles of a mouse in a bucket. If one first renounces the world, prayers will be really efficacious.[152]

Persian poetry was the basis for the literary culture of Burhan * al-Din* Gharib's* circle, as it was for all Sufis of the subcontinent at this time. Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* related that once when he was sick, he stayed home and read Nizami's* great epic poem *Majnun-Layli**; Nizam* al-Din* then visited him and presented him with a hat.[153] On another occasion, he called for Rukn al-Din* Kashani* to recite a passage from Khaqani's* *Tuhfat* al-`iraqayn** on the vanity of wealth.[154] Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* was often moved to quote or extemporize verses of poetry, which he expected his listeners to be able to memorize on a single hearing.[155] Sometimes a disciple would respond by reciting appropriate verses in the same rhyme and meter.[156] Several examples of poetry composed by Burhan* al-Din* Gharib's* disciples are preserved.[157] One recently discovered poetic testimony is especially valuable as coming from the pen of the poet and malfuzat-writer* Amir* Hasan* Dihlawi*. This is a Persian *masnavi** poem in honor of Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* and his disciples, which Hasan* must have written not long after arriving in Daulatabad. The opening lines reveal the gratitude that Hasan* felt for the guidance that Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* offered him:

Peace like the dawn breeze be upon that head of the circle of the divine secret!

Peace like the purity of visionaries be upon that candle of creation's palace!

Peace like the conquest of the seven climes be upon that Burhan* al-Din*, that candle of submission to God!

By the truth that one may call him "truth" (*haqq**), one can call him the absolute ruler of the world.

For by the command of [his] allusion, morning and night, I take my path to the rendezvous with his mouth [i.e., his words].

What good fortune it will be, if some morn or eve he remembers me in this exile (*ghurbat*)!

I have become "poor" (*gharib**)—I am his slave! Perhaps I have found the same quality from his name.

That time of expectation, by way of hope, he sent me, time and again, a prayer messenger.

The prayer that he sent one morning may be my escort on this path.

Even now, if God wills, I will find him, and I will lay my head at the feet of that leader.[158]

Teachings and Practices

Among the Sufi practices that receive prominent attention in the *malfuzat** of Burhan* al-Din* Gharib*, initiation (*bay`at*) deserves to be singled out, since it is

the beginning of the Sufi path. *Bay`at* (literally "agreement" or "compact") is regarded as being the formal acknowledgment of religious authority as instituted by the Prophet Muhammad * among his followers. Qur'anic* passages (48.10, 48.18) refer to this agreement as a linkage between humanity and God, with the Prophet as the intermediary. This linkage is considered to be an uninterrupted transmission through the Sufi masters to each generation.[159] The fifth chapter of *Ahsan** *al-aqwal** gives a lengthy description of the main rituals. If someone wishes to be honored with initiation (*bay`at*) one should fast that day, give alms, and perform ritual prayer. The alms are a thanksgiving offering of food after initiation, while the prayer is the same that is done after being dressed in the *khirqa* cloak. Three conditions must be fulfilled: acceptance (*iqrar**) by the master with a handshake, shaving (*qasr** *ya** *halq**), and investment with the cloak (a hat or other garment could be substituted for the cloak).[160] On accepting the prospective initiate, the master takes the hand of the disciple in his own hand, and says:

> You have sworn an oath (*`ahd kardi**) with this broken one, and with the master of this broken one (*khwaja-i** *in** *shikasta*), with the masters of Chisht, and with the followers [of the Prophet, *tabi`in**], and with the followers of the followers, and with the Messenger of the Lord of Creation, and with the bearers of the Canopy, and with God Himself. Guard your eye, and guard your tongue. Do not speak evil of anyone nor think evil of anyone. Do not bring harm to anyone, and do not approach forbidden things. Remain on the path of the religious law (*shar`*). You have sworn an oath to all of this, so observe these conditions.

The disciple says, "I have sworn an oath to all of this." Then comes the shaving. They take some hair from the right side of the head and from the left, and cut it with scissors. A hat is put on his head, and at this time the master invokes the name of God, and announces (in Arabic) that this is the clothing of piety and the clothing of well-being. The disciple expresses his intention (again, in Arabic) to perform two cycles of supererogatory prayer, with these words: "I intend to pray to God most high two cycles of supererogatory prayer; rejecting all that is other than God, I turn my face to the noble Ka`ba. God is most great." After performing the prayer, he puts his head at the master's feet, and then rises and presents some gift to the master. The disciple joins the ranks of the other companions of the assembly, and the master will then determine his capacity and give him instruction.[161] Special procedures based on the usage of the Prophet Muhammad* governed the initiation of women disciples. Following the directive of a passage in the Qur'an* (60.12), women could undertake initiation with a Sufi shaykh just as women had taken the oath of allegiance to Muhammad*. The procedure, derived from a *hadith** related by `Umar, was for the woman to place her hand into a cup of water,

after which the shaykh (again following the example of the Prophet) would also put his hand in the water, and then the oath of initiation would be administered. [162]

Initiation, which might be renewed on special occasions, was a frequent occurrence in Burhan* al-Din* Gharib's* circle, and the circumstantial details reveal the importance of this ritual. A typical example is the case of Mawlana* Nur* al-Din* Hafiz* Mahjub*. When he was initiated and shaved, Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* inquired how this action would be received by the man's family. Nur* al-Din* said that he had permission, but admitted that there had been some criticism of dervishes in his house, on the grounds that some are blind and others had no hair. Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* smiled and then proceeded to relate a number of stories dealing with the theme of seeing through appearances, and cited a *hadith** on the importance of self-examination. With these preliminary pieces of advice completed, the new disciple was given a hat and instructed in the details of supererogatory prayer, with emphasis on the Qur'anic* verses to be recited at different times. [163] When an official named Sa`d al-Din* Dabir* came to be shaven and initiated, Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* answered his unspoken question about the significance of the hat or cloak. Their absence invalidates the initiation, just as the absence of a master makes it impossible to pursue salvation. In this connection he told the story of Ahmad* Nahavandi* (d. 370/980-81), who fell in love with a Christian princess and ended up becoming a swineherd and converting to Christianity. He was saved from this apostasy only by the intervention of the Prophet as mediated by the chain of Sufi masters.[164] The story of the Sufi who becomes the swineherd of a Christian girl, better known through `Attar's* tale of Shaykh San`an*, is told here to indicate the significance of the chain of Sufi masters as the means of salvation; for `Attar*, the story was told primarily to illustrate the power of love.[165] Some prospective initiates were questioned as to their observance of ritual prayer, and were instructed to be scrupulous about refusing unlawful sources of money.[166] But initiation was not for everyone. Citing the example of Nizam* al-Din*, Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* pointed out that the master must examine the motivation of would-be dervishes to see if they were inspired by God or by the devil.[167]

In terms of religious practice, prayer in its manifold forms was the central activity in the Chishti* tradition. The five daily ritual prayers required of all Muslims were considered to be basic and obligatory in Sufi circles as well. This comes out in the incident of a disciple named Shams al-Din* Fazl* Allah*, who in a hypersensitive mood declared that he would give up all prayers, since in the Qur'an* (41.46, 45.15) it is said that actions are for the sake of the carnal soul (*nafs.*) Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* in turn quoted from the Qur'an* (74.1-6) and from numerous *hadith** to demonstrate that religious actions are for the sake of God. The actions of the heart (including fasting), he pointed out, are not ordinary actions, but are contemplation of God. Shams al-Din*

then expressed his concern that he was committing hypocrisy by not living up to the words of his prayers. Burhan * al-Din* Gharib* then quoted again from the Qur'an* (43.32), "We have apportioned among them their livelihood in the world," to indicate that God decrees everything and that God's will should be recognized in all things. It is worth noting that this advice concludes with a line of Hindi poetry that incorporates part of the Arabic Qur'an* verse.[168]

While it is assumed, then, that the standard ritual prayer (*namaz**) forms part of the Sufi discipline, much attention is focused on supererogatory prayers (*nawafil**) and chants (*wird,* pl. *awrad**). The longest chapter in *Ahsan* al-aqwal**, approximately one-fifth of the book, is devoted to a detailed description of many different prayers and chants. We see how Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* instructs the son of Muhammad* Khadim* in supererogatory prayers, remarking that both Nizam* al-Din* and the Prophet Muhammad* used to enjoy the company of children after prayers.[169] These supererogatory prayers, performed at specified times especially during the night, had been a basic feature of Sufi piety for centuries. When a disciple revealed that he had family problems, Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* indicated that prayers using the *suras** of the Qur'an* beginning with the word *qul* or "say" (known as the *salawat* al-qalaqil**) were very effective to ward off evil and solve problems. The disciple was told to insert these into his evening ritual prayer and afterward recite seventy-five repetitions of a short Arabic address to God.[170] Chants, however, were more specific and spontaneous, and might consist of special petitions addressed to God.

Once during a discussion of concentration (*himmat*), Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* broke into a short Arabic prayer, "God, give me high concentration so that I do not ask of you anything except for your sake." On hearing this, Zayn al-Din* Shirazi* asked if he might not use it as a chant. Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* concurred, saying that a chant is something that one hears and then recites; one ought to use it, for not to do so is like leaving a sharp sword unused.[171] Other special prayers are mentioned, such as the prayer to prevent rain that Qutlugh Khan* had given to certain religious scholars.[172] These chants were not to be taught indiscriminately, however. When Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* once described a certain prayer (*du`a**) that protected a man from attempted murder, a disciple asked to hear it, but the shaykh refused.[173]

The impulse toward interiorization of ritual, so typical of classical Sufism, was the dominant aspect of religious practice among the Khuldabad Chishtis*. Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* explained the levels of interior purification as a transition from practicing Islamic law to undergoing moral transformation, followed by the onset of mystical experience:

> First is external purification (*tazkiya*), which attaches the soul to the religious law. Then comes internal purification (*tasfiya*), which empties the interior of obscurities, and then the divine lights manifest

> within.... It is actions, morals, and states. At fast men do actions, then they strive beyond that to turn their blameworthy actions to praiseworthy ones—avarice turns to concentration and greed to bravery—and in this way, whatever is blameworthy becomes praiseworthy; this becomes the category of morals. When actions have become morals, then comes emptying (*takhliya*). When obscurities are emptied out, states appear, and divine visitations enter the interior. [174]

This emphasis on interiorization is especially evident in the chapters on rituals in Rukn al-Din's* *Shama'il* al-atqiya'*.[175] The Qur'an's* reference to those who are "constantly at prayer" (70.23), for example, is interpreted differently in accord with the diverse classes of people. According to Burhan* al-Din* Gharib*, the vulgar follow this injunction by practicing their five daily prayers and the regular festival prayers during the year; their only concern is that these prayers be performed without sloth or heedlessness, and with precise movement. The elite apply this by performing all supererogatory prayers, with "subjection of the body and presence of the heart," determined to complete all such devotions even in the throes of death. The prophets and the elite of the elite are in a continuous state of obedience and worship throughout their lives and even in death.[176] Similarly, the mystical interpretation of the *hajj** pilgrimage is attaining closeness to the divine beloved, and the Sufi fast is not simply abstinence during the days of Ramazan*, but a continual deprivation of the soul in order to reach the vision of God in the heart.[177] Alms for the wealthy is to give wealth, and for the *`ulama'**, it is to teach religious subjects. But the alms of the saints is "to teach the knowledge of wayfaring, to instruct in external and internal practices, and to give up the world and its pomp. The real alms of the most elite of the saints is to give benefits from the purification of the heart and the illumination of the spirit to sincere disciples, and bestow the bounty of passion, love, and the happiness of gnosis and proximity to God to the seekers of the Lord."[178] From the Sufi perspective, the rituals enjoined by Islamic law were most perfectly performed when this inner dimension was added to the external enactment of the ritual.

The Chishtis* also followed distinctive practices based on the master-disciple relationship, such as pilgrimage to tombs of saints and the observation of their death anniversaries.[179] Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* gave explicit directions for the performance of this ritual:

> When a dervish wishes to visit the dead, he presents his wish twice to the spirit of the dead, goes out of the house and into the road. He goes reciting what he intended, and when he arrives at the head of the tomb he does not stand at the foot. He stands before the tomb and recites the *Fatiha** [Qur. 1] once, the Throne Verse [Qur. 2.255] once, *ilahukum* al-takathur** [Qur. 102] three times, *Ikhlas**, [Qur. 112] ten

times, and *durud* * [blessing the Prophet] ten times, and then he returns.[180]

Festivals were held on the death-anniversary (`urs, literally "wedding") of major saints, and food was blessed and distributed to the faithful. Nizam* al-Din* used to preserve food from the *`urs* of Farid* al-Din* Ganj-i Shakkar and give it to the sick to heal them.[181] Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* recalled that his own father was in the habit of visiting the tombs of the saints and praying thus: "God, God, by the sanctity of those accepted in your court, make this helpless one accepted in your court!"[182] As this prayer implies, pilgrimage to tombs was not worship of the people buried there, but a worship of God that looked to the saint as a kind of intermediary. Disciples often found guidance from deceased saints in dreams after spending time meditating at their tombs.[183]

The center of activities among the Chishtis* was called the *jama`at* khana**, literally "house of gathering." Unlike the *khanqah** of Iran and central Asia, which might often be a large establishment supported by endowments, the *Chishti* jama`at* khana** was essentially the residence of the shaykh. Meals were taken there, people slept there, and the basic teaching activities, interviews, and rituals (including *sama`**) also took place in central room of the *jama`at* khana**.[184] Early Chishti* masters such as Farid* al-Din* Ganj-i Shakkar insisted that this was the normal place of association for the order; he reprimanded a disciple who set up a *khanqah** with an administration big enough to offer opportunities for embezzlement. Farid* al-Din* Ganj-i Shakkar's concept of *jama`at* khana** was that it be hidden from the people, a retreat rather than a showplace. Nizam* al-Din* Awliya'* also maintained a simple *jama`at* khana**, and the same organization was followed by Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* and Zayn al-Din* Shirazi*. The desire for privacy was probably the reason for the selection of Khuldabad, several miles away from the Daulatabad fort, as the site for Burhan* al-Din* Gharib's* *jama`at* khana**.

Some features of the administration of the *jama`at* khana** can be pieced together. Burhan* al-Din* Gharib's* personal attendant Kaka* Shad* Bakhsh would act as a doorman and general factotum, regulating all access to the shaykh. Some disciples took care of secretarial tasks such as correspondence, writing out letters of authorization, and keeping the accounts for the kitchen. Others undertook menial duties such as carrying water, cooking, and carrying things.[185] Hospitality for visitors was treated as a sacred duty, which Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* emphasized to his disciples.[186] Visiting dervishes would be accommodated for up to three days, after which they were expected either to work, to be absorbed in prayer, or to travel on.[187] Visitors would also be expected to conform to the rules and etiquette of the order. Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* himself was asked to instruct in manners a man who behaved rudely to Nizam* al-Din* and he felt that those who persist in rudeness should be refused admittance.[188]

The Disciples

Discipleship (*iradat* *, literally "desire"), according to Burhan* al-Din* Gharib*, is an action of the disciple, not the master. It consists of a discipline (*tahkim**) imposed on oneself such that one attends to everything said by the master. "The disciple (*murid**) must become a lover of the master's sainthood, so that he can depart from the power of his own longing, and the desirer (*murid**) can become the desired (*murad**) of the master."[189] Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* distinguished two kinds of disciple, nominal and real: "The nominal disciple is one whom the master instructs to make the seen unseen and the heard unheard, and to follow the standards of religion. But the real disciple is the one to whom, at the time of instruction, the master speaks of repentance and discipleship, saying, `Be in our company, and we will be in your company.'"[190] The nominal disciple, a sort of lay follower, is thus taught self-control and the regular practices of religion, but the real disciple is admitted to a relation of intimacy with the master, in which the inner discipline can take place.

Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* had many followers in Daulatabad, and they represented a wide selection of classes and vocations that can be briefly surveyed here. From the casual way in which many individuals are mentioned, it is not always possible to determine their social standing; most are discussed in terms of their closeness to the Sufi master. The outstanding personalities are the principal successors (*khalifas**) whom Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* authorized as Sufi teachers; they were, in his terms, "real disciples." Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* had four principal successors in Daulatabad, who exhibited spiritual vocations that differed considerably in their public visibility.

Farid* al-Din* Adib*,[191] a cultured and pious recluse, was brought by his father to meet Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* at a musical audition (*sama `**) at the age of fifteen. A precocious aspirant, he at once formed the resolve to become a disciple of Burhan* al-Din* Gharib*, and with the internal help of his future master, he began reducing his food intake to prepare for asceticism. He became initiated when he was eighteen, though Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* compared him in spiritual maturity to a disciple of thirty years service.[192] The written sources portray him as extremely devout and closely attuned to his master, so that he would come in response to Burhan* al-Din* Gharib's* wish before he was actually called. When overcome by a state of spiritual intoxication, he sought help from Burhan* al-Din* Gharib*, who consoled him by saying that Nizam* al-Din* had saved them both; Farid* al-Din* fervently repeated these words.[193] His close relationship with his master was dramatized when he dreamed that Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* pulled him out of a mud hole.[194] Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* said of him, "We have given you every internal and external bounty." He also remarked, "If at the resurrection I am asked what I have brought, I will say that I have brought Farid*."[195] But Farid* was more of a solitary than a guider of souls. When Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* told him that he

would become a *khalifa* *, he wept bitterly and prayed to God to take him before his master. Accordingly, he died on 29 Muharram* 738/17 August 1337, thirteen days before Burhan* al-Din* Gharib's* death.[196]

A *khalifa** with a particularly inconspicuous lifestyle was Sayyid Nasir* al-Din* (now called Nasir* al-Din* Pa'on* Payk, "the footman"), who received his authority along with Zayn al-Din* Shirazi* three days after the death of their master.[197] He died sometime before 761/1360, since in that year one of his disciples dreamed that Nasir* al-Din's* spirit received the soul of Hammad* al-Din* Kashani*, who died at that time.[198] Only rarely is he mentioned with specific detail in the *malfuzat** texts. Once he is the source for a story about someone else, and on another occasion he is quoted as saying that sayyids as descendants of the Prophet Muhammad* are not shaved at initiation, since they wear their hair long by custom (this was the origin of the nickname Gisu* Daraz*, meaning "long locks").[199] Otherwise we are only told that he was the source of innumerable miracles, none of which are mentioned.[200]

A much more public role was played by Malik Mubarak*, a noble who held the hereditary title Shams al-Mulk. It was at his house that Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* first stayed on his arrival in Daulatabad. His career demonstrates that the line between court life and Sufism could be very hard to define. He and Rukn al-Din* Kashani* both attended upon Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* before they became initiated, and after visiting most of the Sufis of Delhi he decided that only Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* could be his master.[201] Mubarak* then became initiated as a Sufi, but he remained in service at court at the order of Burhan* al-Din* Gharib*, though he wanted to quit his position and become a dervish. Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* said of him, "he is both a man of affairs (*kasib**) and a dervish."[202] Mubarak* was later promoted in the administration and became a revenue official (*mustawfi-i* mamalik**) in Delhi. But on the death of Burhan* al-Din* Gharib*, Mubarak* was sent the robe of a *khalifa** and a diploma of authorization (*ijazat* nama**) to take on disciples. He accordingly returned to Daulatabad to live as a Sufi, and the displeased sultan therefore seized all his belongings. Despite his position of authority in the Chishti* order, Mubarak* avoided receiving visitors, and eventually he went on pilgrimage to Mecca. He died in Khuldabad just two years after the death of Burhan* al-Din* Gharib*, in 740/1340.[203] We shall return to Mubarak* in connection with the question of just how close the relationship was between the Sufi center and the court.

Clearly the dominant figure among Burhan* al-Din* Gharib's* successors was Zayn al-Din* Shirazi*, who is universally regarded as the chief inheritor of his master's authority. According to Azad*, who has constructed a detailed biography of Zayn al-Din* Shirazi*, he was born in Shiraz in 701/1301-2 and came to Delhi with his uncles after performing pilgrimage to Mecca. He accompanied his teacher Kamal* al-Din* Samana* to Daulatabad in the general move, and he distinguished himself in the Islamic religious sciences. Zayn al-Din* initially avoided the Sufis, and he disputed the mastery and miracles of

Burhan * al-Din* Gharib*, in particular criticizing the practice of sama`*. He addressed to Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* some thorny questions on the religious sciences, and had them all answered to his satisfaction, so he converted to Sufism. He advanced rapidly, and on 17 Rabi`* I 737/24 October 1336, on the *`urs* festival of Nizam* al-Din* Awliya'*, he obtained the cloak of succession (*khirqa-i khilafat**).[204]

The master-disciple relationship between Zayn al-Din* and Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* was very close. Reminiscing some nine years after his master's death, Zayn al-Din* described him as having succeeded to the position of the representative of the Prophet Muhammad*:

> The Prophet Muhammad* at this time is in the veil. His representatives (*na'iban**), such as Imam* Ja`far Sadiq*, Hasan* Basri*, Uways Qarani*, Bayazid*, Junayd, Shibli*, Shaykh al-Islam* Nizam* al-Din*, and Shaykh al-Islam* Burhan* al-Din*, have taken care of his position after him. Each of them was in his time the representative of the Prophet. With their protection they bring people to fulfil their religious and worldly goals, so one should entrust oneself to their protection so that by following them all one's affairs should be in order.[205]

By placing Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* in this distinguished lineage, Zayn al-Din* regarded his master as holding the supreme spiritual position of his time.

In the following description, Zayn al-Din* uses a Qur'anic* passage (18.18) to describe the remarkable qualities of the perfect master, in a portrait drawn from the likeness of Burhan* al-Din* Gharib*:

> The master is someone for whom perfect mastery is the apportioned state. His spiritual genealogy goes back, one generation after another, to the Prophet. This group has a characteristic, that because of their mildness, benevolence, and character, there is an awe about them—and this is also supported in the Qur'an*, just as God Most High stated to the Prophet in the story of the companions of the cave: "If you observed them, you would have turned away in flight, and you would be filled with dread from them" (Qur. 18.18).... This meaning is found in [legal works such as] the *Hidaya**, in Pazdawi*, and in all the books of the scholars, although one cannot say it to the masses. But this meaning came true with Shaykh al-Islam* Burhan* al-Din*.[206]

In short, Zayn al-Din* felt that his relationship with his master was of the greatest importance. "Without the protection of Shaykh al-Islam* Burhan* al-Din*," he remarked, "how would spiritual wayfaring (*suluk**) be possible?"[207]

From Burhan* al-Din* Gharib's* *malfuzat**, one can get glimpses of the development of Zayn al-Din* Shirazi* as a disciple. His initial approach was

scholarly and even bookish, and he had to be weaned away from this tendency. We see him asking if he can use an Arabic prayer as a chant, and then asking if he can write down a verse recited by Burhan * al-Din* Gharib*—on this occasion, Burhan* al-Din* refused, saying that he expected one to memorize a verse on the first hearing.[208] It was only slowly that Zayn al-Din* became accustomed to the position of being a spiritual director and the demands that people made on his time. Zayn al-Din* complained to Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* that people interrupted his prayers, but Burhan* al-Din* replied in Arabic that "when the brethren come, the supererogatory prayer is finished."[209] But just as Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* had himself acted as a guide during the lifetime of his teacher Nizam* al-Din*, so did Zayn al-Din* become adjusted to his new role, receiving the spiritual genealogy from his master as a sign of spiritual perfection.[210]

As a teacher, Zayn al-Din* Shirazi* continued to be scholarly in style, and he joined his early training in Islamic law to the Chishti* teachings. He quoted extensively from poets such as Amir* Khusraw, `Attar*, Nizami* Sa`di* and Sana'i*.[211] Works of law and Qur'an* commentary regularly came up for discussion.[212] He used classical Sufi texts and recommended them for the study of his own disciples. When he went to Delhi in 747/1347, he gave to his disciple Hasan* a copy of al-Ghazali's* *Minhaj* al-`abidin** that he himself had written, with instructions that Hasan* should read and correct the manuscript.[213] Hasan*, the recorder of Zayn al-Din's* *malfuzat**, also borrowed from his teacher a copy of the *Qut* al-qulub** of Abu* Talib* al-Makki*.[214] Zayn al-Din* referred to other Sufi classics, such as the works of Qushayri* and Hujwiri*.[215] In his use of Sufi writings, Zayn al-Din* was careful to distinguish between those that were for general use and those with esoteric content. He singled out in particular the controversial works of the Sufi martyr `Ayn al-Quzat* Hamadani* the *Tamhidat** and *Maktubat** (*Letters*), as texts that required special handling. He emphasized that the words of this writer were not to be followed, and that not all can understand them. This was a general principle of esotericism; those who do understand such things should not reveal them or speak of them.[216] Nonetheless, he did quote from `Ayn al-Quzat*, and it is clear that the works of this famous Sufi were well known in Khuldabad.[217]

In the experience of Zayn al-Din* Shirazi* Sufism was an interior discipline that has a complex relationship with Islamic law. To abandon Islam and the *shari`a**, he noted, is the worst of crimes.[218] Beyond that, he said, "The path of our masters is the path of the heart."[219] The normal requirements of Islamic law (*fara'iz**) and the Prophetic example (*sunna*), in his view, establish regulations of purity as a trial designed to release humanity from the evil results of their free will.[220] The acts of supererogatory worship (*nawafil**) performed by the Sufis have the further goal of restraining the carnal soul (*nafs*) from forbidden speech and acts.[221] He recommended the following daily schedule:

> One performs the dawn (*bamdad* *) prayer, sits facing the direction of Mecca, and until sunrise is occupied with chants. When the sun rises, one performs morning (*ishraq**) prayer, and then if one must be involved with some worldly job or relationship, such as trade, work, or negotiations, one is busy with that. Otherwise there is reading and study of spiritual wayfaring, until mid-morning (*chasht**). Then one performs mid-morning prayer and takes a nap. After arising from the nap, one does ablutions and performs the noon (*zawal**) prayer. Then one performs the midday (*pishin**) prayer, and once again is occupied in a job, necessary relationships, teaching, reading, or studying spiritual wayfaring, until the next prayer. Then one performs the evening (*sham**) prayer, the prayer between evening and nightfall (*bayn al-`asha'ayn**), and the bedtime (*khuftan*) prayer, and then one sleeps for a while. Then one does ablutions and performs the vigil (*tahaj-jud*) prayer. Then the times are finished. Work and affairs are from morning to mid-morning, and from noon to evening.[222]

Spiritual practices had to be flexible, in order to deal with the ever-changing nature of the *nafs*. Thus in discussing fasting, Zayn al-Din* followed Burhan* al-Din* Gharib*, saying that it is better to break one's fast when others specially offer food, rather than remaining rigidly committed to the fast. But in that case one should only take two or three bites, in order to oppose the *nafs* completely—if fasting is one's idol, one should break it. Likewise one should also oppose the *nafs* by only eating less when it wants more.[223] When asked why Sufi masters sometimes do not permit disciples to go on pilgrimage to Mecca, Zayn al-Din* replied that this is not an absolute prohibition. Following the master's order becomes an occasion for the disciples to give up their free will, in order to quell the *nafs*.[224]

Zayn al-Din* Shirazi* remained in Khuldabad until some months after the outbreak of the rebellion of the centurions led by Isma`il* Mukh, who was crowned sultan in Daulatabad in Jumada* I 747/September 1346. But Sultan Muhammad* ibn Tughluq descended upon the rebels, won a decisive victory, and visited severe reprisals upon the population. News of a new rebellion in Gujarat caused him to leave hastily, however, and on 2 Dhu* al-Hijja* 747/16 March 1347, Zayn al-Din* Shirazi* along with many of the residents of Daulatabad went north with the army.[225] Evidently the sultan had "invited" the shaykh to accompany him on the road to Gujarat. At some point on this journey, given freedom by the sultan to go where he wished, Zayn al-Din* decided to stay for an extended period at the major Chishti* shrines in Delhi, meeting all the leading figures of the order, including Nasir* al-Din* Mahmud* Chiragh-i* Dihli*. This was for him a period of intense spiritual exercises. On 30 Rabi` I 749/28 June 1348, Zayn al-Din* said that for two months he had been doing a daily complete recitation of the Qur'an* for the spirit of Nizam* al-

Din * Awliya'*, staying mornings meditating in his tomb. During this time Zayn al-Din* also took on many disciples. Eventually, after the death of Muhammad* ibn Tughluq, Firuz* Shah* was crowned, and on 18 Safar* 752/16 April 1352, he met with Zayn al-Din* Shirazi* and invited him to stay in Delhi. The shaykh declined, saying he wished to return to his master's threshold, so with the sultan's permission he returned at last to Daulatabad, after lengthy sojourns at the tombs of Farid* al-Din* Ganj-i Shakkar at Ajodhan and Mu`in* al-Din* Chishti* at Ajmer. The foregoing account is based on the biographical notice by Azad* Bilgrami* who had access to three additional *malfuzat** texts of Zayn al-Din*, none of which is now extant.[226]

When he was on his deathbed, Zayn al-Din's* disciples asked him to name a successor, but he died on 25 Rabi`* I 771/27 October 1369, without having done so. Zayn al-Din's* tomb was built opposite that of Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* (see Figures 6 and 7). Since he was the twenty-second in the Chishti* lineage, Zayn al-Din* is known locally as "the twenty-second master" (*ba'is** *khwaja**); there is no twenty-third (see Table 1). Despite this unambiguous statement that there were no successors, later political traditions attempted to fill the gap by suggesting that Zayn al-Din* bequeathed his authority to Malik Raja* Faruqi*, founder of the kingdom of Khandesh, and a nineteenth-century source even credited him with ten *khalifas**.[227] The leadership of the Chishti* order in the Deccan after Zayn al-Din* seems to have passed after a couple of decades to Muhammad* al-Husayni* Gisu* Daraz*. Only in very recent years has a Chishti* lineage emerged claiming descent from Zayn al-Din's* disciple Shamna* Miran* (d. 798/1395), whose tomb is in Miraj.[228]

In addition to the *khalifas**, the most numerous group of disciples consisted of the ordinary devotees who stayed with Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* or visited him regularly. Nobles, administrators, and the ruling sultan called upon the shaykh, as did religious scholars, soldiers, and other residents of Daulatabad. The Kashani* family, including both parents and their four sons, were dedicated followers of Burhan* al-Din* Gharib*. The father, `Imad* al-Din* Kashani*, never actually became initiated, but expressed the intention of doing so before he died. Their mother, who was a daughter or descendant of Farid* al-Din* Ganj-i Shakkar, was herself accepted as a disciple.[229] Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* emphasized his closeness to the sons by calling himself their fifth brother, the son of their mother.[230] All four brothers appear to have been officials in the Tughluq administration in Daulatabad, although we have little information about their secular activities. Of the four brothers, Burhan* al-Din* Kashani* was the only one not to write a *malfuzat** collecting Burhan* al-Din* Gharib's* teachings, perhaps because he was less knowledgeable about Sufi customs. When he and his brother Maid al-Din* were first initiated, he tried to give a gold ring to Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* by way of thanks, but the shaykh gave it back, saying, "By the spirit of Shaykh al-Islam* Nizam* al-Din*! Sell it and spend it. A dervish ought not to receive things of this kind."[231] His

concentration on Burhan * al-Din* Gharib* was such that once he received from him in a dream the same chant that his brother Hammad* al-Din* had just been taught in waking life.[232] On his wedding day, he became a disciple of Burhan* al-Din* Gharib*, who instructed him to work in the world. He died on the same day as Burhan* al-Din* Gharib*.[233]

Hammad* al-Din* Kashani* was the author of *Ahsan* al-aqwal**, in which he collected Burhan* al-Din* Gharib's* teachings and arranged them by subject. His scholarship was also expressed in a treatise on Islamic law and two works on Sufism.[234] He was personally very close to his teacher. After searching for a Sufi master for some time, he told Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* he had no desire to meet any more dervishes.[235] We see him on several occasions trading Persian verses with Burhan* al-Din* Gharib*, the latter even reciting a verse that mirrors one Hammad* al-Din* is thinking of.[236] In an exchange that may have stimulated Hammad* al-Din* to write *Ahsan* al-aqwal**, Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* told Hammad* al-Din* to remember all that he says, so that he too will be in the group (*majmu`**) that will be saved.[237] Hammad* al-Din* followed the Chishti* meditative regime intently. When preparing for a journey, he received the following Arabic prayer for love from Burhan* al-Din* Gharib*: "God, give me life as your lover, let me die as your lover, and resurrect me beneath the feet of the dogs of your lovers."[238] He helped a fellow disciple, Qazi* Farid* al-Din* Yusuf*, by suggesting a chant to solve his problems.[239] Twice he made pilgrimage to the tomb of Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* to received posthumous instructions, the last time shortly before his death in 761/1360, in Sagar near Gulbarga, where he is buried in the southwest comer of Sufi* Sarmast's tomb. Hammad* al-Din* reportedly brought over a thousand people to become disciples of Burhan* al-Din* Gharib*.[240] The confidence that Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* had in Hammad* al-Din* is indicated in a scene that took place three days before his death, when the shaykh had Hammad* al-Din* renew his initiation, and then instructed him to continue in his prayers and study.[241] Hammad* al-Din* informs us that Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* predicted that Hammad* al-Din* would become a living saint (*zinda wali**), implying that this did in fact occur.[242]

Majd al-Din* Kashani* was perhaps less of a scholar and more of a devotee than his brothers. He was the author of *Ghara'ib* al-karamat**, a narrative work summarizing the miracles and revelations of Burhan* al-Din* Gharib*, along with a supplement, *Baqiyat* al-karamat**, which is no longer extant. Majd al-Din* has nearly effaced himself in his storytelling, and there are only a few references to him directly. Once when he had a problem, he dreamt that Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* told him that secrets are to be found written in blood; perhaps due to a bookish inclination, he found the solution by reading for days in various books on Sufism.[243] When Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* appeared to be on his deathbed in 737/1337, he asked Majd al-Din* and Rukn al-Din* to pray for him with Qur'anic* prayers.[244] Years after, it was Majd al-Din* who received in a dream certain prayers from Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* that saved the people from

the wrath of sultan, after the rebellion of Isma`il * Mukh.[245] Majd al-Din* thus appears primarily as a devotee who stands somewhat in the background among the disciples of Burhan* al-Din* Gharib*.

Rukn al-Din* Kashani* was the most prolific writer of the family, having written not only *Nafa'is** *al-anfas** as a *malfuzat** in diary form, but also a Qur'an* commentary entitled *Rumuz** *al-walihin** (*Cyphers of the mad lovers*) and *Shama'il** *al-atqiya'** as an encyclopedia of Sufi teaching. He wrote a good deal of undistinguished Persian poetry, much of it inserted into the topics of *Shama'il** *al-atqiya'**.[246] Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* recognized his literary bent by calling him a "collector of stories" and "the spiritual secretary."[247] Hammad* al-Din* also mentions that Rukn al-Din* wrote a book (unspecified) at the request of a noble, which he took to Burhan* al-Din* Gharib's* tomb for blessing; on his way there a rainstorm began, but the book was miraculously preserved.[248]

Rukn al-Din*, like his brothers, had a very close relationship with Burhan* al-Din* Gharib*, which deepened as he became more thoroughly imbued with the Chishti* teaching. He records frequent events marking his growing intimacy with Burhan* al-Din* Gharib*. He introduced a number of his friends from court to Burhan* al-Din* Gharib*, and discussed their family problems with him.[249] Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* frequently presented Rukn al-Din* with the personal effects that formed such an important part of the initiatic process.[250] Once Rukn al-Din* was about to take his leave, but Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* was in a bad mood, and had him wait. A little while later, Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* felt more cheerful, and so he gave Rukn al-Din* a robe and sent him on his way.[251] Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* predicted that Rukn al-Din's* son Salih* would also grow up to be worthy and would sit with him as a disciple.[252] Fairly early in their relationship, Rukn al-Din* asked if he could help share in Burhan* al-Din* Gharib's* illness, but the shaykh warned him that it was too dangerous.[253] When Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* appeared to be on the point of dying in 735/1335, he gave instructions for his burial. Rukn al-Din* wept and renewed his initiation along with the others. When, the next morning, it appeared that Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* had recovered, a moving exchange took place between the two:

> The revered master (God remember him with good and happiness!) asked me, "Where were you, and what have you done?" I said, "I have been busy praying for my master." He replied (verse): "He said to me, where were you, what did you do? Where was I, what did I do? I sorrowed for you." His eyes filled with tears, and he said, "I know that the devotees have been sad and disturbed on. my account." Then he asked, "How are you?" And on that day, I was internally disturbed because of something important. I said, "The master's blessing is for the good." The shaykh began to weep, and extending

> his hand from his sleeping robe, he said, "Put your hand in mine." I put my hand in the hand of the leader of humanity and placed my head at the feet of that rescuer of the people. The shaykh wept and said, "Lord! Lord! Save him!" Several times he said these words. Then he said, "May he grant you one day the happiness of both worlds, and bestow upon you acceptance in both worlds." Then he said, "Go home or to bed." On that day the Real (who is mighty and glorious) bestowed such fortune and happiness [on me]. [254]

From this kind of incident it is easy to see how intense the master-disciple relationship was between Rukn al-Din* Kashani* and Burhan* al-Din* Gharib*.

As Burhan* al-Din* Gharib's* prayer for Rukn al-Din* indicates, the Sufi master wished for his disciple success both spiritually and temporally. This follows the pattern already seen in the case of Malik Mubarak*, who was instructed to remain in government service until the shaykh's death. Rukn al-Din seems to have found the balancing of court life and Sufism difficult to achieve. As early as 733/1332, Rukn al-Din* requested to be fully initiated, and shaved as a dervish, so that he could give up his government career. Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* divined this wish before it was expressed, and refused, telling him to go back to the palace; he should imitate Ahmad* Ma`shuq* and help the people rather than retire into seclusion. This advice was striking enough to have been repeated in three *malfuzat** texts.[255] Four years later, in 737/1336, Rukn al-Din* complained again of the difficulty of working for the administration, when all "the *khans**, nobles, and princes of this time" ignored his advice. Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* advised him to trust in God.[256]

Among the other prominent disciples was Kaka* Shad* Bakht (or Shad* Bakhsh), the personal attendant of Burhan* al-Din* Gharib*, who was a principal source of many oral accounts incorporated into the *malfuzat**. He seems to have been a practical soul who was much concerned about the welfare of his master. When the sultan presented a gift of three thousand tankas, Kaka* suggested accepting it, but Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* insisted on distributing it.[257] The shaykh called him "one of the good and pure ones."[258] Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* entrusted him with the responsibility for distributing food and clothing to others.[259] He kept the accounts and later administered the hospice of Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* for nine years after the shaykh's death, and it was he who undertook the project of constructing his master's tomb, as an inscription on the tomb testifies. In order to do this, he went to Delhi to have a workman construct a wooden model of the tomb of Nizam* al-Din* Awliya*, and brought it down on horseback to serve as a model for the tomb of Burhan* al-Din* Gharib*, which was completed in 744/1343-44; this wooden model was in existence until very recently. Kaka* was the first administrator of Burhan* al-Din* Gharib's* shrine, and he died in 747/1346-47.[260]

Another leading disciple was Latif* al-Din*, a nephew of Burhan* al-Din*

Gharib *, who was entrusted with the ceremonial position of holding the toothpick during meals in the hospice.[261] His high status in the group is indicated by his giving counsel to another disciple, Muhammad* Lashkar, when the latter was having difficulties.[262] One account describes his intense concentration on Burhan* al-Din* Gharib*, which caused him miraculously to transform himself into the likeness of a dervish whose appearance was being described by the shaykh.[263] He was singled out to be presented with a woolen garment at the time of Burhan* al-Din* Gharib's* near-fatal illness.[264] While he was extremely pious in matters such as reciting Qur'an* over food, he was also entrusted with the administration of the *dargah** after the death of Kaka* Shad* Bakht. According to Azad*, Latif* al-Din* was the administrator of the shrine after the death of Kaka* Shad* Bakht, and in 761/1359-60 he presented Hammad* al-Din* Kashani* with a special shawl that belonged to the shaykh, and he died soon after.[265] There is some discrepancy about the role of Latif* al-Din*, however, since the revenue memorandum (Appendix B) indicates only that his mother and his descendants received stipends in kind from the shrine's income, but it does not mention him among the administrators of the shrine; this discrepancy may reflect later disagreements over the running of the shrine between the various factions of devotees. We shall return to this revenue document in the context of the later institutionalization of the shrine.

In the second rank of disciples one may count figures such as Shams al-Din* Fazl* Allah*, apparently a brother of Zayn al-Din* Shirazi* and a teacher of the Qur'an*.[266] He is referred to in the hagiographical *Ghara'ib** *al-karamat** as being an intoxicated saint of high station, who had been told by a wise dervish that he would meet the Qutb-i* `Alam* or "axis of the world." After becoming disciple of Burhan* al-Din* Gharib*, he learned that the latter was indeed the Qutb* al-Aqtab* or "axis of axes" as defined by Nizam* al-Din*, and therefore the supreme figure in the spiritual hierarchy.[267] Nonetheless, he was hypersensitive about his own practice, and we see him having qualms about performing any action (including prayer) hypocritically; he is also shown asking whether it is all right to teach children for money (Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* approved).[268]

In the second rank also may be placed Taj* al-Din* Muhammad* Lashkar, a soldier in the Tughluq garrison at Daulatabad. His relationship with Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* was more worldly than spiritual. His experiences of the miracles of Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* included the latter telling him where to find a lost horse. When he participated with Qutlugh Khan's* army in the siege of Kotgir, he was injured by an arrow, but was healed after dreaming of Burhan* al-Din* Gharib*.[269] When Muhammad* Lashkar complained to the shaykh of his family's poverty, Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* predicted that bounty would come to him when the shaykh was no longer there. Muhammad* Lashkar later was named commander of the Badarkot fort and was much better off financially.[270] Around 754/1353, Zayn al-Din* Shirazi* named him the third administrator of the shrine of Burhan* al-Din* Gharib*. Muhammad* Lashkar is associ-

ated with Mawlana * Rashid* al-Din*, an old disciple of Nizam* al-Din* Awliya'*. Little is known of Rashid* al-Din's* earlier life. One anecdote relates that his brother was reported killed by a highwayman while on the sultan's business; Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* correctly predicted the brother's return.[271] He was the last to speak to Burhan* al-Din* Gharib*, and he became the second administrator of the saint's shrine after Kaka* Shad* Bakht until his death in 754/1353.[272]

Some members of the Khuldabad circle were brought there forcibly as part of Sultan Muhammad* ibn Tughluq's policy of installing learned men in the government. One such was Qazi* Rafi`* al-Din* Muta`allim, an old disciple of Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* and the author of a *Risala-i* karamat** (*Treatise on miracles*). He was chained by the sultan and ordered to serve in the administration Daulatabad. Later, on receiving a summons to the imperial court, he was so disturbed that he fled to Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* for refuge; on the latter's advice, however, he heeded the summons and was fortunately freed from his chains and service.[273]

There were also lay disciples like Ibrahim* Burhani*, a soldier and poet whose pen name "Burhani*" was taken from his master's name. Evidently he was the poet who composed the verses inscribed on the wall of Burhan* al-Din* Gharib's* tomb.[274] The story is told that he was summoned to army duty by the military commander Malik Hajji* Qulghi*, but the shaykh correctly predicted his return in three days. On the occasion of that visit, Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* also presciently told him to check his purse; Ibrahim* in fact caught his own servants rifling it just at that moment.[275]

Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* also had frequent visits from members of the scholarly class. These encounters were not always friendly. `Aziz* al-Din* Hafiz*, an expert on Qur'anic* recitation, could not resist showing off his learning in front of Burhan* al-Din* Gharib*. The shaykh took this opportunity to predict the imminent demise of the scholar's teacher.[276] An equally unfortunate situation occurred with Mahmud* Latif*, another visitor who showed off his knowledge to Burhan* al-Din* Gharib*. He died three days later, just as predicted by the shaykh.[277] Another scholar was Fakhr al-Din* Hanswi*, a purely theoretical thinker; it was remarked that he had a relative who was a cheat. His son wanted to become a Sufi with Burhan* al-Din* Gharib*, but the mother was opposed to this.[278] Other religious scholars were more interested in Sufism. Qazi* Farid* al-Din* Yusuf* was not a disciple, but he requested from Hammad* al-Din* Kashani* one of Burhan* al-Din* Gharib's* chants in order to solve a problem. He stopped using it after a while, but later resumed it successfully after seeing Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* in a dream.[279] Azad* mentions several eminent religious scholars who became disciples of Zayn al-Din* during his sojourn in Delhi. These included Nur* al-Din* Imam*, an expert on Qur'anic* readings, and Sadr* al-Din* Mufti*, a descendant of Shihab* al-Din* Suhrawardi* He claimed that Zayn al-Din* Shirazi's* ascetical struggles outweighed those of all other saints.[280]

Women disciples did not have a high profile in the Khuldabad Sufi group. Certain women, such as Burhan * al-Din* Gharib's* mother Bibi* Hajira*, were highly respected. Bibi* Hajira's* tomb is next to the shrine of her other son, Muntajib al-Din* Zar Zari* Zar-bakhsh. The five sisters of Burhan* al-Din* Gharib*, known locally as "The Five Ladies" (*panch* bibiyan**), also had a prominent position.[281] The upkeep of their tombs was one of the tasks assumed by the first administrators of the shrine of Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* (see Appendix B). But only occasionally do we hear of a female disciple, such as Khwan* Bibi*. Azad's* description of her is therefore worth quoting in full:

> From childhood she was benevolently nurtured in the shade of Mawlana* Zayn al-Din*. The Mawlana* too had great affection for her, and for that reason she is known as "the adopted daughter" (*mutabanna* sahib-zadi**). She was a great devotee and ascetic. Having mastered the external and internal sciences with the Mawlana*, she attained the rank of unveiling (*mukashafa**). The story is well known that once the Bibi* was in a state of intoxication when it came time to eat. When the table was laid out, she was summoned. Because of this state, she came but could not begin to eat. The Bibi* lifted up some bread from the table and stretched out her hand, saying, "Take it!" The master asked, "To whom are you giving the bread?" She replied, "You cannot see that a [illegible] in blessed Mecca is asking for it; I have given it to him." By the truth of the saying, "The seeker of the Lord is masculine," she is known as Mawlana* Bibi* Sahiba*.[282]

Here Khwan* Bibi* is portrayed as a Sufi who excelled both in religious learning and in visionary experience. For that very reason, she was assimilated to the metaphysical model of gender expressed in the saying of the Chishti* poet Jamal* al-Din* Hanswi* (d. 1260): "The seeker of this world is feminine, the seeker of the next world is hermaphrodite, and the seeker of the Lord is masculine."[283] Thus it was that she was given the courtesy title of the learned, Mawlana*. But in general the attitude toward women was the generally tolerant misogyny typical of the time. Once Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* commented on a formula occurring in a Persian prayer that began, "By the sanctity of the good women and the good men." The good women precede the good men, he remarked, because they were so few, while there were many good men. One of these good women was the mother of Rukn al-Din* Kashani*, herself a daughter or descendant of Farid* al-Din* Ganj-i Shakkar. Comparing her to an unnamed woman saint of the previous generation, Burhan* al-Din* noted that Farid* al-Din* Ganj-i Shakkar had frequently called that saint a man whom God had sent to the world in a woman's form, in order to do the work of the, men of God. Finally, Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* concluded that learning from one's mother was a highly important part of spiritual development.[284]

We shall return to the feminine presence in Khuldabad in connection with the later development of local hagiography (Part III, chap. 11).

There are many other names of disciples that occur only once or twice, but even in these instances one can get some of the flavor of what it meant to them to be disciples. Such is the case with `Ali * Shah* `Umar Mihrapa*, who once thought of going to Multan to become a disciple of the Sufis there (the Suhrawardis*), but after meeting Zayn al-Din* Shirazi* he changed his mind and stayed in Daulatabad.[285] Once, when troubled by evil thoughts, he went to Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* for advice. Before he could ask his question, the shaykh answered it, speaking of the difficulty of disciplining the carnal soul. "One must drain cups brimful of poison for thirty years, and to overcome the *nafs,* strive and exceed all limits, so that the `blaming soul' becomes the `soul at peace.'"[286] We also hear of Muhammad* Rustam, a former drunkard who gave up wine with the help of Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* and subsequently became initiated.[287] Nizam* al-Din* Ya`qub* was a visitor who once, seeing Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* look old and tired, wished that the shaykh would glance at him; he did so, observing ironically that the interior is superior to the appearance.[288] Other members of the circle are shown in even briefer vignettes. Majd al-Din* Khusraw, we are told, used to bring milk to Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* daily. Muhammad* Khadim* is shown being ordered to shave an aspirant. His son later got instruction from Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* in *nawafil** prayers.[289] Khwaja* Muhammad* appeared bringing bread and sugar.[290] Sufi* Sakhtiyani* used to come once a year, and was warned of his forthcoming death by Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* during the latter's last year of life, so that he had a month to prepare.[291] There were even characters such as a certain Mas`ud*, who came and left without even seeing Burhan* al-Din* Gharib*; he was dismissed as one of the mannerless.[292]

Some members of the Khuldabad circle became important as models for later devotees. Writing in the eighteenth century, Azad* Bilgrami* observed three main hereditary groups that participated in the running of Burhan* al-Din* Gharib's* shrine. One group was the offspring of Burhan* al-Din* Gharib's* sister through her son Latif* al-Din*, and they are called the *mawla-zadagan** or descendants of the master. This group figures prominently in the shrine's revenue memorandum produced in the late fifteenth century (Appendix B). The second group, the descendants of Muhammad* Lashkar and Rashid* al-Din*, are called the *murids** or disciples, and they also play a significant role in the revenue memorandum. The third group is comprised of the offspring of four brothers named Khayr al-Din*, Qabul*, Jildak, and `Abd al-Rahman, and they are known as the children (*farzandan**) and attendants (*khuddam**) of the shaykh.

The story of their attachment to Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* has become, in the interpretation given by Azad*, a model for all those who in subsequent generations would become disciples. According to this story, a noble once ap-

proached Burhan * al-Din* Gharib* and asked his blessing for a son. The shaykh replied that there would be four sons worthy of his service, so the noble promised them to him, and he was warned not to break promises to *faqirs*. The four sons were born in due course, and all four eventually entered the service of Burhan* al-Din* Gharib*, apparently when they were still quite young. Two parallel accounts reveal tensions between these children and the senior disciples. Khayr al-Din* and Qabul* were once beaten by Latif al-Din* for taking grapes from the garden, and they went and complained of this to Burhan* al-Din* Gharib*, who said, "You are my children, and I am your friend." He then pulled up his shirt and showed them that he also bore the bruises of their beating. He told Latif* al-Din* not to bother them any more. In the other incident, Kaka* Shad* Bakht gave a whipping to `Abd al-Rahman* and Jildak because they disturbed his reading. Again, the two went and complained to the shaykh. On this occasion too he had the marks of the strap on his back. He warned Kaka* Shad* Bakht and excluded him from the assembly for several days, saying that those who treated his children well also treated him well, and the same held true for ill treatment.[293]

Azad* enlarged further on the importance of Burhan* al-Din* Gharib's* treatment of these children, seeing it as an indication that the shaykh's beneficent influence continued for all future disciples. According to *Baqiyat* al-karamat*, Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* said that the children were his disciples without him having to act like a master. The same source records that he said, "I will not let my children slip, if they slip I will not let them fall, and if they fall I will not let them come down." Thus the term "children" is now generalized to mean all disciples, and Azad* gave thanks for the great blessing of the oath Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* had sworn to protect them. Azad* then cited chapter four of *Ahsan* al-aqwal*, where Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* says that the wise protect the children, meaning that the shaykhs will protect the disciples. In Azad's* view, this means that all disciples in the order will be protected by Burhan* al-Din*. In chapter five of *Ahsan* al-aqwal*, the shaykh is quoted as saying that someone who is not a disciple of a master but has true devotion to him and follows him is also among the disciples, and will not be excluded from the reward and blessings of his good intention. By this saying, concludes Azad*, all adherents and pilgrims are included in this blessing.[294] The importance of the "children," then, lies not in their character as model Sufis, but in the paradigmatic relationship of grace and sympathy that the Sufi master established with them. The four brothers owed their very existence to the intervention of the shaykh, and he shared intimately in all their experiences, as the twin whipping incidents show. There is no reference to their having any particular spiritual aptitude or practising any form of discipline, indeed, we only know of their getting into mischief. Yet here were people who received the benefit of the shaykh's love and understanding—what better model could there be for the ordinary devotee of later times?

Sama` *: Listening to Music

One of the most distinctive practices of the Chishtis* was *sama`*, or listening to musical recitation of poetry. Although *sama`* literally means "listening" or "audition," it is more correct to follow Bruce Lawrence's definition of *sama`* as "hearing chanted verse (with or without accompanying instruments) in the company of others also seeking to participate in the dynamic dialogue between a human lover and the Divine Beloved."[295] Since music, particularly instrumental music, has always had an uneasy status in Islamic law, the practice of *sama`* has been controversial. In contemporary South Asian Muslim circles, one sometimes hears the argument that the Chishtis* only adopted the questionable practice of *sama`* in order to appeal to the music-loving Indian population, as part of a program of conversion.

This position, which seeks to excuse a legally dubious practice by making it serve a higher missionary goal, has no historical justification. *Sama`* was a standard topic in the Arabic Sufi manuals of the tenth century, and it was widely practised in Iraq and Iran. There are remarkable similarities between the Chishti* approach to music and that of the great Sufi poet Jalal* al-Din* Rumi* (d. 1277), whose works were known in northern India. *Sama`* was, moreover, restricted in principle to the mystical elite, and according to some was a purely spiritual experience. One early Sufi described it in these words:

> *Sama`* is the comprehension of essences by the ear of the heart, the heart's understanding of realities, becoming aware of God's indications and the divine speech and will, the opening up of the tongue of conscience to God, the avoidance of doubt and suspicion, and the conveying of the words of reality by the heart of *sama`*."[296]

From the foregoing description, one would take *sama`* to be the essential mystical experience, and the direct perception of God by the heart. Yet simply to equate *sama`* with some kind of inner experience would be misleading, for *sama`* is a form of religious activity involving musical performance that ideally takes place under the strictest of conditions. Demanding psychological and intellectual guidelines, as well as elaborate rules of etiquette, govern the enactment of *sama`*. The writings of the Khuldabad Sufis amplify this notion of *sama`* as the ecstatic core of the Chishti* tradition, and they emphasize the pursuit of *sama`* as a way to union with God that must be combined with severe discipline of the carnal self.

Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* was, probably more than any other senior disciple of Nizam* al-Din* Awliya'*, dedicated to the practice of *sama`*. Mir* Khwurd had emphasized this ecstatic attitude, saying that Burhan* al-Din* had "a distinctive style (*tarzi* ala-hida**) in dancing, so that the companions of this saint were called `Burhanis* among the lovers."[297] Burhan* al-Din* himself was extremely susceptible to the influence of *sama`* as well as spiritual discourses in gener-

al. [298] The Khuldabad *malfuzat** reveal that *sama`** was very popular in the circle of Burhan* al-Din* Gharib*, most notably with Burhan* al-Din's* successor Zayn al-Din* Shirazi*, although he had fiercely opposed listening to music before he became a Sufi.[299] *Ahsan* al-aqwal** is a particularly rich resource on this topic, as chapter twenty-six presents a whole series of rules governing the practice of *sama`**. *Shama'il* al-atqiya'** also contains a comprehensive discussion of the question of *sama`** according to both classical Sufi authors and the Delhi Chishtis*. These primary sources furnish an irreplaceable documentation on the Chishti* practice of *sama`**.

As a disciple of Nizam* al-Din* Awliya'*, Burhan* al-Din* must have been keenly aware of the controversy that raged in Delhi over the legitimacy of listening to music. This controversy was not new; Sufis in the Islamic heartland had practiced *sama`** since the ninth or tenth century, and jurists had not been slow to attack this phenomenon as a suspicious and possibly immoral innovation. Although many of the early Sufi masters joined the musical gatherings to hear mystical verses, they more than anyone were conscious of music's power over the soul for both good and evil; consequently, few approved of it without reservation. A number of Sufi authorities give the impression that *sama`** is a kind of stimulant for those whose spiritual nerves have become deadened. Ahmad* al-Ghazali* was one of the minority of early authorities who regarded *sama`** as part of the height of Sufi experience. Shaykh `Ali* Hujwiri* of Lahore, one of the first Sufis to dwell in the Indian subcontinent, showed the ambivalence typical of many shaykhs—he praised *sama`** as a source of ecstasy for advanced mystics, but condemned it as a trap of Satan for the unwary novice. The legitimacy of listening to music, in other words, was not a simple question, but depended on the people and circumstances involved.

Under the Delhi sultanate, the Chishti* order was in the middle of the continuing controversy over listening to music, because, in a significant new development, *sama`** had now become the central feature of Sufi practice even for novices. As Bruce Lawrence has observed, "in the Indian environment from the period of the Delhi sultanate through the Mughul era (1206—1857) *sama`** assumed a unique significance as the integrating modus operandi of the Chishti* order."[300] Thus the Chishti* order stood apart from the Suhrawardi* order, which did not emphasize *sama`**, and it was even further removed from the conservative jurists. The jurists' opposition took the form of petitions to the sultans of Delhi, seeking a royal decree forbidding the practice of *sama`**, while the Chishtis* and their supporters vigorously defended *sama`** as permissible under Islamic law. Despite these appeals, both Sultan Iltutmish and Sultan Ghiyas* al-Din* Tughluq refused to outlaw the Chishtis'* observances.[301] Burhan* al-Din* was undoubtedly aware of both the contemporary debate and the reserve of some of the classical Sufi authorities toward *sama`**. On one occasion another Sufi, who was not a disciple of Nizam* al-Din* Awliya'*, criticized

Burhan * al-Din's* appearance after *sama`** (it may be that Burhan* al-Din* appeared disheveled or had rent his garments); Burhan* al-Din* responded that this was his master's practice, even if it was not recommended in the great handbook of Sufism, the *`Awarif* al-ma`arif** of Shaykh Suhrawardi*.[302]

With this controversy in mind, it is not surprising to find that Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* and his followers upheld a demanding ethical standard for participants in *sama`**, even as they spiritualized some of the technical rules. Burhan* al-Din* used a framework derived from Islamic law to describe the varying psychological attitudes that lovers of God and lovers of the world bring to the experience of listening to music:

> The master (Burhan* al-Din*) also said, *"Sama`** is of four types. One is lawful, in which the listener is totally longing for God and not at all longing for the created. The second is permitted, in which the listener is mostly longing for God and only a little for the created. The third is disapproved, in which there is much longing for the created and a little for God. The fourth is forbidden, in which there is no longing for God and all is for the created.... But the listener should know the difference between doing the lawful, the forbidden, the permitted, and the disapproved. And this is a secret between God and the listener."[303]

Although cast in a legal form, Burhan* al-Din's* analysis of the listener's motivation puts the burden of responsibility on the individual conscience, for the object of one's love is by its nature secret from the law. Similar was the view of Rukn al-Din* Kashani* when he was asked if at the judgment *sama`** would weigh in the scale of good or of evil; he replied that *sama`** as the perception of spiritual states did not enter into the scales of actions at all.[304]

The Chishtis'* focus on purified intention as the criterion of genuine *sama`** led them to encourage novices to participate in musical sessions, and to seek genuine ecstasy (*wajd*) even if it meant imitating that ecstasy initially. Many early texts mention the imitation of ecstasy by "empathetic ecstasy" (*tawajud**), which is sometimes characterized by a susceptibility to be inspired by hearing a divine communication even in the voices of animals. The subject of empathetic ecstasy had been an ambiguous one in classical Sufism, because of a general abhorrence of affectation or pretense in any form. The Persian translation of Suhrawardi's* *`Awarif**, for instance, concentrates much of its discussion of the manners of *sama`** on the horrible nature of empathetic ecstasy, though there is some concession in the case of beginners.[305] Yet with Nizam* al-Din* Awliya'* there is a new emphasis on linking the grades of ecstasy with the ranks of the participants in *sama`**. Nizam* al-Din's* disciple, Fakhr al-Din* Zarradi*, systematized this insight in his treatise on listening to music, *Usul* al-Sama`** (*Principles of sama`**). Now empathetic ecstasy (*tawajud**) was seen as a proper response to *sama`**, and one that was intrinsically connected to

the ecstasy of divine love. This wholehearted enthusiasm for *sama`* became characteristic of later Chishti* writers, such as Mas`ud* Bakk (d. 1389) and Ashraf Jahangir* Simnani* (d. 1422). Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* on occasion did say that empathetic ecstasy was a defect in *sama`*, since true ecstasy and spiritual states were the goal; he repeated the advice of Nizam* al-Din* Awliya'* that if one does not have ecstasy (*wajd*), one should call on the name of God as *al-Wajid**.[306] This insistence on the elite level of experience was unusual, however.

In general, Burhan* al-Din* and his followers approve of empathetic ecstasy, and they prescribe it first of all as a mode of behavior during *sama`* In the ritual, empathetic ecstasy seeks real ecstasy by conforming to the behavior of those who have it. "If someone in *sama`* has no ecstasy nor rapture, the rules (*adab*) are that he go stand with the people of ecstasy and conform with them."[307] One can observe this custom in the performance of *sama`* even today, when someone goes into a hal* or spiritual state, and the company rises up to conform to his state. Rukn al-Din* Kashani* is explicit on this point: "If a dervish rises from his spiritual state and ecstasy, the companions should conform, and all rise. This is an approved custom, and a fine tradition; to go against it is to abandon sanctity."[308] If, on the other hand, one has not yet attained ecstasy, but only the intermediate experiences of "rapture" (*jazb*) and "taste" (*zawq*), one still must conform with the rest, and sit if they are seated, though movement is permitted. In the receptive mood of the *sama`* assembly, one's state can affect others strongly; therefore, if one is overcome by one of the awesome qualities of the divine wrath, one should remain silent to avoid influencing one's companions.[309]

Empathetic ecstasy is also a mode of engagement with the recited verses, so that it becomes an intellectual approach to mystical experience. Rukn al-Din* Kashani* gives lengthy explanations of the process of interpretation of poetry and empathetic ecstasy, in a number of passages drawn from his lost work *Rumuz* al-walihin**.[310] In these comments Rukn al-Din* truly lives up to his nickname, "the spiritual clerk" (*dabir-i* ma`nawi**). He speaks in this text as an intellectual lay follower of the Sufis. His audience is not only the elite disciples of the Chishti* order, but also the educated Muslims who are interested in Sufism but are not certain how to evaluate it. In his discussion of *sama`*, he emphasizes the need for the novice to interpret the verses in terms of the attributes of God. Allegorical interpretation (*tahmil**) of the verses of poetry in terms of God or the master is of course a dominant characteristic of Sufi writing, from Sarraj* and Ahmad* Ghazali* to Nizam* al-Din* Awliya'* and Sharaf al-Din* Maneri*.[311] According to Rukn al-Din* Kashani*, this is not to be done except in a theologically correct manner. The negative and positive divine attributes are to be correlated with the symbols of poetry (e.g., the cheek of the beloved as the manifestation of divine beauty). This is a process of deliberate thought (*fikr*) in listening (*istima`**), aided by divine visitations

(*waridat* *). Or more formally, one proceeds through three journeys. "The first is in voice and verse, the second in active attributes, the third in essential attributes.... The root of the matter is thought in sama`*.[312] Examples of this kind of interpretation are the qualities of divine beauty and majesty, or grace and wrath, as polar manifestations of the power of God. Doubtless also many verses were then as now referred to the great Sufi masters, whose lives and deaths are still celebrated regularly by such concerts (see Figure 18). As long as one can interpret the poetry in this way, it is a sign of divine guidance, according to Rukn al-Din*. This is in general a very systematic and intellectualistic approach to *sama`**, but one that he feels will lead to transrational ecstasy.

In contrast, a remarkable instance of Burhan* al-Din's* more direct spirituality is his story of the shaykh who heard a lute that was expressing the divine attributes with its strings. "Then he said, `Lute, if you only knew what you are saying, every one of your strings would break.' No sooner were these words spoken than the strings of the lute broke. The disciples asked what the lute was saying. The master said, `One string said, "O Merciful," and another string said, "O Compassionate."[313] Burhan* al-Din* here alludes to the experience of divine attributes by direct perception. For Rukn al-Din*, however, the theological interpretation is significant. This intellectualism may be contrasted with a passage that Rukn al-Din* quotes from al-Hallaj*, who insisted that *sama`** is not limited to words and thought—"that which they hear without notes is not by means of word and voice, but is related to the perception of internal hearing."[314]

On the highest level, however, *sama`** derives from spiritual experiences of the most sublime nature. Ever since the time of Junayd of Baghdad (d. 910), it has been common for Sufis to link *sama`** with the Qur'anic* theme of the primordial covenant (*mithaq**) between God and the unborn souls of humanity, when God demanded, "Am I not your Lord (*a-lastu bi-rabbikum*?)" (Qur. 7.172). This moment, for the Sufis, was not only the perfect statement of the divine unity but also the forging of the link of love between God and the soul. Moreover, the music of *sama`** is nothing but the reverberation of that primal word of God: *"Sama`** is the recollection of the speech of the Covenant, and the burning of the fire of longing."[315] The Sufis describe God as having placed a secret into the human heart that day, which is concealed like a spark in stone, but which blazes forth when struck with the steel of *sama`**.[316] Junayd is quoted as saying, "When to the essence of the children of Adam on the day of the covenant there came the words, 'Am I not your Lord,' all the spirits became absorbed by its delight. Thus those who came into this world, whenever they hear a beautiful voice, their spirits tremble and are disturbed by the memory of that speech, because the influence of that speech is in the beautiful voice."[317] In other terms, the source of *sama`** is said to be the "rapture" or "attraction" (*jazb*) of God, a kind of energy that irresistibly draws one toward

God. The Egyptian Sufi Dhu * al-Nun* (d. 859) said, *"sama`* is God's rapture that agitates (*yaz`aju*) hearts toward God." Alluding to the difference in perspective between lovers of God and lovers of the world, Dhu* al-Nun* said further, *"sama`* is the messenger of the Real (*al-haqq**). Whoever listens to God becomes a realizer of truth (*muhaqqiq**), and whoever listens to the carnal soul becomes a heretic" (*zindiq**).[318] Burhan* al-Din* even traced the spiritual source of one's physical appearance during *sama`**. He said that *"sama`* has two colors, one yellow and* the other* red. Everyone on whom distance, wrath, and fear descend turns pale, and everyone who has nearness, union, grace, and hope, blushes."[319] In this way, the fundamental modes of separation from God and union with God manifest directly in the color of the human face.

What would most interest an outside observer about *sama`** is to see what are the effects of the ecstasy on the participants, but this is a topic that the sources touch upon only lightly, since the spiritual experience is the goal. One of the most intriguing effects of *sama`** is dancing (*raqs**), usually spoken of as a spontaneous expression of ecstasy. It was perhaps only among the Mevlevi dervishes of Turkey that rhythmic dance was regularly practiced as empathetic ecstasy (nowadays the dance of the "whirling dervishes" is performed in concert halls and for tourists).[320] Though the early Sufi masters at best tolerated ecstatic dance, the Chishtis* felt it was a natural effect of the powerful influences of *sama`**. Nizam* al-Din* Awliya'* is reported as saying, "At the time of *sama`** and recitation, happiness descends on the heart. From the world of emanation to the world of power, then it affects the heart. These are the states which are between kingdom (*mulk*) and angelicity (*malakut**). When its agitation becomes visible, it is called `influences' (*asar**) which have come from the kingdom to the limbs."[321] *Sama`** creates a kind of channel between the heard and the spiritual world, and the surging of its energy overflows into the body and releases itself in dance. An older Sufi source states, "Every limb has a portion and a pleasure in *sama`**. The portion of the eye is weeping, the portion of the tongue is crying out, the portion of the hand is striking the garment, and the portion of the foot is dancing."[322]

There is an enigmatic statement by Qushayri*, frequently quoted in the sources, that runs as follows: *"Sama`** is an invitation, and ecstasy is an intention." By this Qushayri* appears to emphasize the psychological dimension of participation in *sama`**. Curiously enough, the version of this saying cited by Rukn al-Din* adds an extra phrase, so that it reads, *"sama`** is an invitation, ecstasy is an intention, and dance is union."[323] The additional conclusion, that "dance is union," appears to have been added by some Indian author, perhaps by Rukn al-Din* himself. It seems to be typical of the Chishti* approach to *sama`** that the ecstatic element has been raised to the dominant position. Other effects of *sama`** include healing and even raising people from the dead.[324] The influence of *sama`** was certainly considered to extend beyond the grave. "Khwaja* Jalal* al-Din* told of being with Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* on an

ecstatic occasion, and mentioned Khwaja * Zuhayr* Saqqa'* and how tears would fall from his eyes as soon as *sama`* started. Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* suggested that they visit his tomb and perform pilgrimage (*ziyarat*). They did, and Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* told Jalal* that Khwaja* Zuhayr* Saqqa'* still had those tears ."[325]

This description of *sama`* and the accompanying ecstasy would be in-complete and one-sided without an account of the strict discipline that balanced it. What was the function of these rules? In brief, it was to keep open the avenues of divine influence while attempting to exclude the intrusion of the human ego. These rules were not only derived from the classical manuals of Sufism, but also were ideals that followed the concrete examples of the early Chishti* masters. Most notably, in *Ahsan* al-aqwal*, Hammed* al-Din* Kashani* records illustrations of these principles from incidents in the circle of Burhan* al-Din* Gharib*, and he also quotes Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* on particular instances of Nizam* al-Din* Awliya's* behavior during *sama`*. According to Hammad*, every session began and ended with recitation of the Qur'an*. All the participants were expected to perform ablutions as for ritual prayer, and abstain from chewing betel.[326] It was important not to make *sama`* a mechanical performance. Therefore it should not be held at a fixed time every week, or be made into a profession or a habit.[327] Neither should one be forward or assertive during *sama`*. Since ecstasy was often the result of the listener's interpretation of a verse, the listener would desire to have that verse repeated; it is acceptable for the listener to request repetition, but "if in spite of his desire he submits and does not have them repeat it, God inspires the reciter" to do so.[328]

It is forbidden to question others who are present about the meaning of a verse, since that is usually only a pretext for the questioner to show off his own knowledge, and talk distracts from the real meaning.[329] One should not criticize the singer, for this reduces the performance to an aesthetic occasion; it is better to refer the matter to God.[330] In any case, inspiration is of greater importance in a singer than artistic skill, and is more likely to induce ecstasy.[331] Although the objective is ecstasy, total control of the ego is necessary to achieve this. Therefore it is forbidden to disclose or display the nature of one's spiritual state. Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* has given a whole series of regulations that apply this principle to the physical behavior of participants in *sama`*.[332] For instance, he said, "If a dervish unintentionally raises his hand during audition, audition is no longer proper for him." One should be physically restrained. "A dervish should be sober and never allow his hands or feet to touch another; if this happens anyway, he should pull back."

Another rule states that if one goes to the extent of rolling on the ground, there is a fine to be paid. The example given is Burhan* al-Din* himself, who once had actually been crawling (*lukida*, a rare word), and received this penalty. It is doubtful that this lack of control had anything to do with the

"Burhani *"style of dancing that Mir* Khwurd mentioned, since that must have been a measured dance of empathetic ecstasy. One cannot drink anything during a musical session or fan oneself, no matter how hot the weather. Once when someone committed this offense, Nizam* al-Din* Awliya'* rebuked him in the metaphor of lovers' suffering, "Dervishes consume their blood; what have I to do with sherbet*?" One should avoid giving greetings to others during *sama`*, to avoid disturbing anyone's concentration. Zayn al-Din* Shirazi* reiterated this emphasis on solitude in the gathering: "If a hundred Sufis are in *sama`*, one walks so that one's skirt does not touch the skirt of another." But since human nature is what it is, mistakes will occur. When mistakes happen, it would be a serious breach of discipline to point this out publicly. If someone is behaving affectedly or without manners, the proper response is to "remain outwardly silent and help inwardly so that the state becomes balanced again. Our master [Burhan* al-Din*] said that one uses this prayer: `Lord, prevent him from this, and protect me from this!'"[333] There are other rules governing precedence in rituals, the distribution of patched cloaks, gifts to the musicians, and so on, but it is difficult to reconstruct these aspects of the ritual on the basis of the texts alone.

From the writings of the Khuldabad Chishtis* on *sama`*, we can see how Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* stood firmly in the tradition of classical Sufism while at the same time he embodied the particular genius of the Chishti* order. He faced the problem of the ambiguity of *sama`* in Islamic law by putting the burden of ethical responsibility on the individual participant in *sama`*. This emphasis on the contextuality of *sama`* was thoroughly in consonance with the internal orientation of Sufi ethics. Burhan* al-Din* also continued the Chishti* practice of permitting empathetic ecstasy, the imitation of genuine ecstasy, as a way to introduce novices into the higher ranges of spiritual experience.

To avoid the problems of insincerity and affectation in *sama`*, Burhan* al-Din* insisted on the proper spiritual interpretation of the erotic verses recited in *sama`*, and he determined that the psychological basis of *sams`* was to be found in the most profound spiritual experiences of Islamic mysticism. To maintain the purity of this ritual form of meditation, Burhan* al-Din* urged a discipline that was designed to eliminate expression of egotism as well as the habitual attitudes of secular life. We can summarize the Chishti* attitude towards *sama`*—and at the same time stress its importance in Sufism as a whole—by quoting Shaykh `Umar al-Suhrawardi*:

> The deniers of *sama`*are either ignorant of the example of the Prophet, deluded by their own knowledge, or perverse by nature. Some masters of *sama`* can understand a hundred thousand mysteries filled with treasuries of secrets in the voice of the singer and the verse.[334]

8
The Indian Environment and the Question of Conversion

By the time that the Chishtis * settled in Khuldabad, the Sufi tradition had been established to some extent in northern India for two and a half centuries. Necessarily much of the substance of Sufi teaching and practice derived from models initially elaborated in Iran, Iraq, and central Asia in the previous centuries. Yet our subject here is Sufism in India, and so it may be asked to what extent the Chishti* Sufi center in Khuldabad affected and was affected by the Indian environment. The question of the Indian character of Sufism in south Asia is a complex one, and discussions of it have generally revolved around contentious issues of religion, in particular the issue of conversion to Islam. Particular details of language and custom indicate that a certain amount of Indianization had taken place in the groups upon which the Chishtis* drew for their membership. The primary documents do not, however, suggest that the Chishtis* were involved in any conscious missionary activity designed to convert non-Muslims to Islam; it would be more correct to say that the *malfuzat** texts scarcely mention non-Muslims at all. As we have seen, the Chishtis'* emphasis on interiorization was not even oriented to the average Muslim, but to a spiritual elite, and so it can hardly be expected that these Sufis would have devoted themselves to an audience that was totally unfamiliar with the basic points of Islam.

The Sufis' relationship with the Indian environment is most importantly revealed by their use of poetry in Indian regional languages. The Hindawi* verses that occur in the Khuldabad texts indicate an Indianization of Sufism, to the extent that Sufis found the local language and imagery appropriate for the expression of their teachings. Although most of these verses occur in contexts of specialized Islamic discourse, it would be wrong to regard them as the vehicles for the dissemination of Islam to non-Muslims; when non-Muslim groups such as the Sikhs appropriated the verses of the Chishti* master Farid* al-Din* Ganj-i Shakkar (a problem greatly clarified by the Khuldabad

texts), they only drew upon those poems that lacked any specifically Islamic character.

Recent methodological essays by scholars of Indian Islam have helped to bring out the issues at stake in the discussion of conversion. Peter Hardy, in particular, has emphasized the vagueness that has surrounded the question of conversion of Islam, and the way in which this question has served as a mode of expression for the authors' own preconceptions or evolving views about their own relationship with Islam. [335] Theories of conversion, in other words, often tell us more about the theorist's views of Islam than anything else. In modem times, the question of conversion to Islam has had many explosive implications ever since it was first raised in a systematic way by British administrators in the nineteenth century. Hardy rightly describes it as being today "a political minefield," especially in the wake of the partition of British India into India and Pakistan.[336] The principal ideological arguments can be classified, loosely, as follows: first, the "religion of the sword" argument, which assumes that conversion to Islam took place primarily by force. Second, the "religion of social liberation" argument, which sees Islam as offering equality to Indians suffering from oppression under the caste system. And third, the "Sufi as missionary" argument, which sees the Sufis as having systematically brought Hindus to Islam by preaching and by indirect means such as force of character.[337] All of these arguments have political implications, and all have the defect of either relying on an excessively literal reading of sources or anachronistically projecting modem concerns onto medieval society.[338]

The "religion of the sword" theory equates Islam with political role by Muslims, and accepts the triumphalist rhetoric of dynastic chronicles as a statement of the Islamic faith. This theory was first enunciated with respect to India by British administrators such as Sir Henry Elliot, and it plays an important role in modem Hindu nationalism. While evidence suggests that certain Muslim rulers encouraged outward conformity to Islam by repressive means, such actions had a significance that was primarily political. The "religion of social liberation" argument comes, on the other hand, originally from a sixteenth-century Muslim source, and is favored by the liberal wing of south Asian Muslim scholars. This interpretation views Islam as progressive and egalitarian, and thus a boon welcomed by the Indian masses.[339] It has been remarked that whatever value this observation has may be limited to the extreme south of India, where Muslims have generally had a high social status and converts have not been subjected to the limitations of their former caste. This stands in contrast to northern India, where the majority of Muslims in modem times hold relatively low social status.[340] The "Sufi as missionary" theory is more complex, and we shall discuss it further below.

Other, less controversial, factors in the growth of the Islamic population in south Asia include significant immigration by Arabs, Turks, Afghans, and

Iranians, the "political patronage" argument, which points to individuals and groups who received financial rewards and political appointments in exchange for converting to Islam, and intermarriage between Muslim men and non-Muslim women. These processes probably did not involve large numbers of people. Richard Eaton has introduced another thesis, the "ecological" argument, that conversion to Islam was most effective in those areas (western Punjab and Bengal) that were least exposed to Brahmanical culture and shifted from tribal and nomadic lifestyles to agricultural existence under a political system ruled by Muslims. The literate tradition of Islam, through the medium of qazi * judges and Sufi shrines, according to this view, was vastly more effective in stabilizing these local cultures in terms of Islamic values than in areas more firmly linked to the rival literate tradition of the Brahmans.[341] Eaton has also charted a process of gradual conversion to Islam by a process of intergenerational accretion among tribal groups in the Punjab, in connection with the unifying role of one of the great Chishti* shrines, that of Farid* al-Din* Ganj-i Shakkar.[342] These sociological explanations involve gradual social change over long periods of time, and depart from the Christian model of conversion as a sudden "change of heart" in an individual.

But what of the argument that the Sufi saints were responsible for the conversion of large numbers of Indians to Islam? Again, much depends on what is meant by conversion. It is one thing to show, as Eaton has done, that over many generations the social groups (in this case, tribes of the Punjab) associated with a Sufi shrine show a gradual increase in the proportion of obviously Muslim names, which eventually becomes 100 percent; by that index it can be argued that the Sufi shrine acted as the focus for the Islamization of those groups through a process of accretion over time. It is quite another thing to say that Farid* al-Din* Ganj-i Shakkar personally engaged in attempting to preach Islam to large numbers of Hindus. For this argument there is practically no evidence in the oldest stratum of Sufi literature. As Bruce B. Lawrence has shown, the *malfuzat** texts of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries refer only to a few isolated cases of individuals who converted to Islam after becoming attracted to the Sufi saints.[343] Nizam* al-Din* Awliya'* observed that Indians were not drawn to Islam through sermons, and Nasir* al-Din* Mahmud* Chiragh-i* Dihli* never convened anyone to Islam; Gisu* Daraz* was unusual in that he engaged with some Indians in disputations, but he complained that they did not follow through with conversion when defeated.[344] While the Chishtis* would doubtless have been pleased to see people attracted to the faith of Muhammad* , the assertion that most Sufis "regarded the conversion of non-Muslims as one of their primary spiritual objectives in India" cannot be supported by contemporary accounts.[345]

The picture of the Sufi as missionary is derived from three later sources: royal historiography, tribal and caste traditions enshrined in late hagiographies and British gazetteers, and nineteenth-century British concepts of Christian

missions. Royal historiography contributed to the notion of Sufi missionaries by invoking the aura of Sufi sanctity to legitimize their conquests; this began as early as Muhammad * ibn Tughluq's attempt to force the Chishtis* to preach Islam, a conscription that they resisted (above, Part II, chap. 6). The royal search for religious support widened in the fourteenth century, when rulers saw the foundation of mosques and the encouragement of conversion as a way of broadening their base of support.[346] Hagiographies of the Mughul period begin to discuss Sufis as bringing about the mass conversion of infidels to Islam, generally through the exhibition of miraculous powers. This phenomenon breaks the tension between royal and mystical historiographies, making the Sufis into the agents of imperial expansion (above, Part I, chap. 5). As Simon Digby has pointed out, contests between Sufis and yogis, which were often followed by conversion of the yogi, often had local territorial significance as well, in emphasizing the saint's superiority over other Sufis.[347] Medieval hagiographies often depict famous Sufis as leaving their homes in Iran or central Asia as a result of a dream, in which the Sufi was commanded to go to India to preach to the heathen. Such was the case with Sayyid `Ali* Hamadani* (d. 786/1385), regarded as the true founder of Islam in Kashmir. Recent scholarly research suggests, however, that such a motive cannot be detected in sources contemporary with the shaykh, who seems rather to have left central Asia as a result of his strained relations with the emperor Timur*.[348] Political considerations would also seem to have a role in modem celebrations of the death-anniversaries of Sufi saints, who are sometimes extolled as the missionaries of Islam as if that were their main activity and the sole justification for the reverence in which they are held. This strategy has the effect, in Pakistan, of portraying Sufi saints as the forerunners of the Islamic state, and at the same time it defuses fundamentalist criticism of Sufism by resolutely avoiding any mention of the actual content of Islamic mysticism.

Tribal and caste traditions about conversion, which were often not committed to writing until the nineteenth century, represent a phenomenon difficult to track. These are often only available in nineteenth-century British gazetteers, which emphasized the most bizarre manifestations of popular religion.[349] But the inevitable selection of an eminent early Sufi as the medium for the Islamization of castes and tribes suggests that other motives may be present besides antiquarian research. Lawrence maintains that "those who attached themselves to the Shaykh and to his tomb forged a new lineage of legitimacy for themselves and their descendants."[350] Those who could claim to have been converted to Islam by a Sufi saint could also claim his spiritual and even temporal protection. Conversion stories may have had other important implications at the time when they were told, with respect to asserting one's ancestral position for the British authorities when revenue settlements were being made, or establishing rights to Islamic judicial positions.[351] The role of Christian missionaries served as a model for the Sufi as missionary

when nineteenth-century Muslims reconsidered their history under the pressure of colonial rule. [352] The strength of the Christian concept can be judged from the adoption of the word "mission," which has been directly transliterated into Urdu script (*as mishan*), to describe the activities of Chishti* Sufis in the Deccan.[353]

The late hagiographic ideal of the missionary Sufi does not fit, however, with the picture of Sufi discipline and practice as found in the early Sufi manuals. Travel to faraway places, rather than being the result of dreams, is discussed as a difficult task that forms part of the discipline, but never in connection with conversion of non-Muslims. According to the tenth-century authority al-Sarraj*, one travels to get away from other people and to see one's own blameworthy qualities. One travels to meet shaykhs, since that requires manners, humility, desire, forgetting all that one knows, and accepting the shaykh's advice, so it should not be a cause of pride.[354] A more detailed account by Abu* Najib* al-Suhrawardi* (d. 563/1168) listed the permissible purposes of traveling, in order of priority: *jihad**, *hajj**, pilgrimage to the Prophet's tomb, pilgrimage to the mosque of Jerusalem, traveling for learning, to visit shaykhs and brethren, to repair wrongs and ask forgiveness, to learn stories of past Sufis, and finally as self-discipline and to achieve anonymity.[355] While some might argue that *jihad** was the equivalent of conversion, this remained only a theoretical option for most Sufis at this period, and one that was in practice subordinated to royal ambition. A1-Suhrawardi* gave detailed rules concerning the behavior of Sufi travelers in the hospices where they generally lodged, but never mentioned public proselytizing. The role of travel as a means of purification and discipline is illustrated by the remark of the other leader of the Suhrawardi* order, Shihab* al-Din* al-Suhrawardi* (d. 632/1234): "The influence of travel on taming souls is no less than that of supererogatory prayer, fasting, and ritual prayer."[356]

The only term regularly used in Arabic for missionary activity is *da`wa* (Persian *da`vat*), which means "calling, inviting." The only Islamic group that has systematically employed *da`vat* as a technique to reach outsiders and non-Muslims is the Isma`ili* sect, which has for centuries freely adapted local Indian symbolism and integrated it with Islamic themes. The term *da`vat* occurs in Sufi texts, but with the specific meaning of a master preaching to an elite group of disciples in training. Rukn al-Din* Kashani* quotes the Persian translation of Suhrawardi's* *`Awarif** to define this term as follows:

> *Da`vat* means to call someone toward something and towards someone, and it is of several types, by wisdom, by preaching, and by disputation, as God Most High said, "Call to the path of your lord with wisdom and fine preaching, and dispute with them by means of that which is best" (Qur. 16.125). That is, "O Muhammad*, by whatever means his carnal soul dominates his heart, call him with a fine

> preaching." This is directed toward the pious ones (*abrar* *), by recalling heaven and hell. "And for anyone whose heart dominates his carnal soul, call him with wisdom." This was directed toward the wayfarers and seekers of the Real, who are hopeful of finding internal purity, gnosis, unity, and nearness. This is by hint, and it is a gift. "Say: This is my way; I call toward God with insight, I and whoso follows me" (Qur. 12.108) is the secret of this meaning.[357]

What is especially noticeable about this passage is the exegesis of the three modes of *da`wa* traced to Qur. 16.125. Here "fine preaching" (*maw'iza* *hasana**) is equated with reminding the pious of heaven and hell, while "wisdom" (*hikma**) is regarded as calling the adept mystics to inner experience by means of hint and allusion. The urge to interiorize religious practice into spiritual experience so preoccupied Rukn al-Din* that he completely omitted any reference to disputation, the third manner of calling to God. It must be recalled that the principal religious activity of Sufism was the intensive interiorization of Islamic religious practice. Sufis had little patience for dealing with the more literally minded generality of Muslims; most of their teachings were reserved for an elite group. How should they suddenly begin to preach, then, to a mass of non-Muslims who were not even familiar with the basics of Islam? Giving public lectures and admonishment (*tazkir**) is an activity that the Khuldabad *malfuzat** texts associate exclusively with the activities of professional religious scholars.[358] The concept of Sufi missionaries seems almost contradictory when viewed in this light.

The role of the Khuldabad Chishtis* with respect to the spread of Islam in the Deccan has been greatly exaggerated in modem historical literature. Mixing royal and saintly traditions, the British gazetteers and Urdu hagiographies portray the Sufis of Khuldabad as militant warriors in the service of Islam and the state. One typical, rather confused, example is as follows:

> Alauddin* Khalji* and Malik Kafur* led the Muslim military force to conquer Devagiri* of the Yadavas* and Dvarasumadra* of the Hoysala* and to bring them under the political control of Delhi Sultanate, while the disciples of Nizamuddin Avaliya of Delhi led three consecutive expeditions of their spiritual army for the spread of Islam. Each batch was seven hundred strong. These Sufi* missionaries led a spiritual life and by their spirituality and humanity attracted to themselves not only the Muslims but also low caste Hindus and even a few Brahmans*.[359]

As in the nineteenth-century gazetteer of the Nizam's dominions (above, Part II, chap. 6), here the story of the forced emigration of the fourteen hundred saints to Daulatabad in 1329 has been conflated with the original raid of `Ala*' al-Din* Khalji* in 1296. The militant image now assigned to the Sufi "army" accords with its supposed missionary activity. Now it may be that the

Khuldabad shrines have acted over the centuries as a focus for the gradual accretion of some of the local population to Islamic practices. In the first available census figures, the district (Circar) of Daulatabad under the Nizam's government in 1849 contained a population of 10.5 percent Muslims, exclusive of the city of Aurangabad. This figure is considerably higher than the average population of Muslims in rural Maharashtra, so there may be reason to suppose that the Chishti * shrines acted as a stimulus toward greater local identification with Islam. [360] But we do not have any contemporary indication that the Khuldabad Sufis ever entertained the idea of missionary activity.

The rare occasions when contemporary non-Muslims are mentioned in the Khuldabad *malfuzat** texts scarcely permit one to form any picture of the relations between the Sufis and non-Muslims. The most specific reference to any non-Muslim is the occasional mention of yogis, who are regarded as alchemists (possibly fraudulent ones) with advanced knowledge of medicine and the body.[361] The term "Hindu" only occurs in contexts that describe battles between Turkish forces and Indian soldiers, so that the term appears hardly to have acquired any religious significance as far as the Sufis are concerned.[362] Zayn al-Din* in many remarks explicitly restricted the role of Sufism to exerting a spiritual influence over Muslims. When Mir* Hasan* mentioned to Zayn al-Din* the *malfuzat** project that he was writing, he stated that it would be for the benefit of Muslims. This is not surprising, considering that the *malfuzat** texts were all written in Persian.[363] Zayn al-Din* later discussed the problem of the relation between the Sufi and society, saying that a dervish should avoid business affairs, but should care for people and help Muslims.[364] Zayn al-Din* described the conditions of being a Muslim-principally rituals and distinctive clothing-as being learned from one's parents.[365] Rarely did Zayn al-Din* allude to practices frowned upon by Islamic law, and it is difficult to tell if these observations are directed to lax Muslims or to non-Muslims.

A story is told of the great influence that Hasan* Basri* held over his contemporaries, so that a Christian converted to Islam. This story occurs in a discussion about whether it is proper to eat with someone who does not pray; Zayn al-Din's* comment was that one may do so, since it is possible that one may influence that person to the good.[366] In the light of the statements that seem to restrict Sufi activity to the Muslim community, this last remark appears to be directed at nonpracticing Muslims. Zayn al-Din* only once made an apparent reference to those who are not fully Islamized. When describing those Muslims who learn their duties from their parents, he said that even a little bowing to stone is all right and does not actually destroy their religion; in such a case it is best to wait to correct these people.[367] It may be that this description applies to people who converted to Islam only one or two generations ago, and are not fully weaned away from the practices of idol worship, but it is not possible to be much more specific than that. These "idolatrous" practices might as easily be associated with Mongol religious practices as with

Hindu ones; Mongol troops were certainly present from time to time in Daulatabad. [368]

The Khuldabad Sufis did occasionally refer to conversion to Islam in their discourses, but usually in the context of stock tropes and tales familiar in the Sufi tradition. Much of the interest from these stories touching on conversion centers on the volatile semantic aura surrounding terms such as "idol-worship," "infidelity" (*kufr*), and any account of non-Islamic religions. In Sufi symbolism, these blameworthy terms (along with the vocabulary of wine) were consistently used to indicate transcendental mystical experiences that stood in tension with the external religious law. From al-Hallaj* to Iranian Sufis such as `Ayn al-Quzat* Hamadani* and Ruzbihan* Baqli*, the theme of mystical infidelity reverberated as a deliberately provocative topos.[369] The Khuldabad Sufis were thoroughly familiar with this complicated symbolism. Rukn al-Din* Kashani* drawing heavily on the writings of `Ayn al-Quzat*, devoted a section of his compendium of Sufi doctrine to the nuances of mystical infidelity.[370] Stories involving Sufis falling in love with non-Muslim women and then apostatizing from Islam thus involved all the delicious resonances of impassioned love combined with the total abandonment found in mystical infidelity.

Such was the story of Ahmad* Nahawandi* (above, Part II, chap. 7), who fell in love with a Christian princess and became a Christian. Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* used the story to illustrate the ability of the chain of Sufi masters to intervene on behalf of a disciple. Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* followed that tale with the story of a dervish who went to Mongolia and fell in love with a Magian woman (*sic*). When told he had to become a Magian to marry her, he went to the bazaar and bought an idolater's belt (*zunnar**) for himself. A dervish friend of his saw him and asked the reason for him wearing the belt, which the first dervish explained. The second dervish then announced that he too would buy an idolater's belt, in order to be in conformity with his friend. When the woman saw the two idolater's belts, she was deeply impressed to learn that the second dervish had given up his religion also out of friendship for the other. She said, "If your religion is this sort of religion, then tell me the profession of faith," and she became a Muslim.[371] As with Ahmad* Nahavandi*, all turns out well in the end as everyone converts to Islam, but the deliberate flirting with apostasy for the sake of love adds an exciting element of risk to the story. These stories should not be seen as reflections on how best to proselytize among non-Muslims, however. As `Ayn al-Quzat* had pointed out, non-Muslims are at best counterfeit infidels, since they have not penetrated to the mystical "real infidelity" symbolized by extra-Islamic references.

Other references to conversion can be found in stories intended to demonstrate the nature of the master-disciple relationship. Under the heading of "The Excellence of Obeying the Master," Hammed* al-Din* Kashani* related the following tale from Burhan* al-Din* Gharib*. A disciple once asked a master

where to perform his devotions. He was told to go anywhere and meditate, but he persisted in asking for a precise location. The master, possibly feeling irritable, told him to go meditate in an idol temple. Wondering about the wisdom of this course of action, the disciple nonetheless found an idol temple in a nearby village. The idols all fell down before him as soon as he set foot inside the temple. The people of the village revered him as a saint and all became Muslims. When the disciple went to see his master, the whole village followed him, and the master welcomed him and congratulated him, saying, "How wonderful the feet by whose blessing so many people became Muslims." The disciple then blessed the word of the master who sent him to the idol temple. [372] What is especially striking about this story is its close resemblance to the accounts found in the British gazetteers purporting to give historical accounts of the Islamization of certain tribes, due to the miraculous deeds of famous saints.[373] But this story in its context is devoid of any historical reference; the individuals and the places remain nameless, subordinated to a pedagogical purpose.[374] The story of the idol temple is but one in a sequence of many that relate how disciples should carry out the instructions of the master, no matter how strange they may appear. The similar oral traditions found in the gazetteers took stories about discipleship and projected them back to historicize their own relationship with Islam.

One other story from the Khuldabad *malfuzat** texts needs to be considered, since it presents a Chishti* master using quasiviolent tactics to cause non-Muslims to convert to Islam. Hammad* al-Din* Kashani* relates the story from Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* that once Farid* al-Din* Ganj-i Shakkar was visited by a group of black-cloaked dervishes (*siyah-push**). Although they appeared outwardly unremarkable, the shaykh perceived something wrong about them, and he locked their leader into a room for three days, but supplied the others with bread and water. On the third day, the shaykh told the leader that if he became a Muslim, he would be released. The leader agreed, and when he came out it was revealed that beneath his dervish cloak there was an idolater's belt. The leader admitted that for thirty years he had been visiting the hospices of Khurasan and India, but that no one had seen through his disguise before.[375] The purpose of the story, in context, is to demonstrate the ability of the Sufi master to see through appearances and read one's inner thoughts; the heading under which it appears is "The Unveiling of the Saints," in the chapter on "The Miracles of the Saints." It would seem to be unnecessary to seek here a reference to any particular non-Muslim group, such as the black-cloaked pagans (*kafiran-i** *siyah-push**) of the Hindu Kush.[376] Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* has elsewhere referred to "black-cloaked dervishes" in a story taking place in Ceylon, so he seems to have had in mind a recognized Sufi garb.[377] It is hard to imagine what non-Muslim group would make a career of masquerading as Sufis and getting free lodging in hospices in Iran and India, simply in order to test the resident Sufis. The term "idolater's belt" (*zunnar**) in

Persian is indifferently applied to a Christian monk's belt, a Zoroastrian belt, or a Brahman's sacred thread.

As in the other conversion stories, this one seems to hold interest for its audience primarily insofar as it uses the extra-Islamic reference to create a tension that is resolved by the insight of the Sufi master. It would be wrong to assume from this story that Farid * al-Din* Ganj-i Shakkar had a regular program of converting Indians to Islam.

The first references to missionary activities among the Khuldabad Chishtis* come, predictably, in late biographical texts suffused with touches of imperial historiography. In the seventeenth century, Dara* Shikuh* maintained that Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* was sent to the Deccan "to spread Islam and guide the residents of those regions.... From the blessing of his arrival, most of that group became honored with [conversion to] Islam and became disciples."[378] A century later Sabzawari*, in his account of Burhan* al-Din* Gharib's* brother Muntajib al-Din* Zar Zari* Zar-bakhsh, said, "He was the eliminator of infidelity and innovative influences, and he was the knower and defender of the faith of *islam**. "[379] Without giving any specific information, this statement suggests that the saint somehow opposed paganism and advanced the cause of Islam. Sabzawari's* comment on Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* does not stress opposition to paganism as much as his exemplary religious life: "In Rawza* he exhibited the splendor of the practice of the religious laws [and] the inner path (*tariqa**) of *islam** and lived there."[380]

Sabzawari's* tone grows more strident, however, when describing the legendary saints whose arrival in the Deccan is thought to predate the Turkish conquest. He says of Mu'min `Arif* that "he revealed transformations and supernatural feats to the mass of infidels, who thereupon became his followers."[381] Regarding the shadowy Jalal* al-Din* Ganj-i Ravan*, Sabzawari* remarks, "by various miracles and numerous supernatural feats he defeated the people of infidelity and sorcery. He confounded the foundation of infidelity and ignorance. He first revealed the sign and the currency of *islam** and made firm the pomp of the religion of Muhammad."[382] Sabzawari's* accounts stand midway between the royal historiography of the Mughul period, with its stress on universal empire, and the miracle-laden drama of popular hagiography. Phrases like "the sign of Islam" (*shi`ar-i* islam**) are typical of the vocabulary of political chronicle, and are tied to the concept of imperial expansion.[383] The victory of the saint over the infidels through thaumaturgic battles is a mainstay of the militant hagiography based on epic models (above, Part II, chap. 6). Sabzawari's* accounts of Sufis and their role in conversion to Islam need to be seen as belonging to the late evolution of mixed political and religious hagiographies, rather than as evidence for the self-image of Sufis of the fourteenth century.

The concept of the Sufi shaykh during the Delhi sultanate period was intimately tied to the norms of Islamic scholarship. The assimilation of the

malfuzat * texts to the model of *hadith** transmission indicates the centrality of Islamic scholarship to the function of the Sufi teacher (above, Part I, chap. 4). Sufi criticism of the externalist religious scholars (*`ulama'-i* zahir**) has encouraged the assumption that they were indifferent to matters such as Islamic law. Yet in their own understanding, the Sufis were simply religious scholars who had also mastered the internal disciplines; they were the scholars of the internal (*`ulama'-i* batin**). The special documents called *khilafat-namas**, by which the Chishtis* authorized their principal successors, placed the successor into the initiatic line of Chishti* masters that originated with the Prophet Muhammad*. When Nizam* al-Din* Awliya'* authorized Shams al-Din* Yahya* to teach, the document recording this stated that "it is permitted for him to grant the dervish habit to disciples and guide them to the stations of those confirmed in faith, as it was granted to me by ... Shaykh Farid* . . . [who] received the dervish cloak from ... Shaykh [Qutb* al-Din*] Bakhtiyar* Awshi*... [etc.] . . . And `Ali* received it from ... Muhammad* the Chosen one."[384] This sequence employed the structure of the initiatic genealogy or "tree" (*shajara).*

The Chishtis* not only regarded their vocation as deriving from the Prophet, but also they made little distinction between their teaching authority and their study of the traditional Islamic sciences. The document by which Farid* al-Din* Ganj-i Shakkar authorized Nizam* al-Din* as a successor is simultaneously an authorization to teach a standard Arabic text on theology and law, the *Tamhidat** of Abu* al-Shakfur* al-Salimi*; this *khilafat-nama** thus followed the structure of the *ijazat-nama**, the typical teaching license of Islamic scholarship.[385] In naming Nizam* al-Din* as his successor and at the same time authorizing him to teach a text on Islamic theology, Farid* al-Din* Ganj-i Shakkar showed that the Sufi master could also function as a transmitter of the standard Islamic religious sciences. But none of the *khilafat-namas** contain any instructions regarding the conversion of non-Muslims.

Yet certain Chishti* practices, and the use of Indian vernaculars for poetry, testify to an undeniable Indian element in Sufism. The use of betel leaf with areca nut and lime paste (Hindi *pan-supari**) as a masticant, which is still universally practised in south Asia, found its way into Chishti* practice as well. In Burhan* al-Din* Gharib's* circle, betel (*tanbul**) was on special occasions offered to visitors, and instructions for its proper preparation and consumption were included in the descriptions of the manners (*adab**) of the hospice. [386] The use of betel was prohibited during the performance of *sama`**, although afterward betel and sherbet were provided to the participants.[387] Betel partially chewed by the master was regarded as the cause of miraculous cures, and it was also distributed to disciples after initiation rituals.[388] But it is probably in the Sufi use of the local language, indifferently termed Hindawi* (literally, "Indian"), that the strongest indication of Indianization lies.

What, then, was the significance of the use of Indian vernaculars by the Sufis? The Hindawi* language that is referred to in the Chishti* *malfuzat** texts

was close to Old Punjabi, and it was a forerunner of Dakhani Urdu. Some of the oldest samples of this language are found in quotations from Farid * al-Din* Ganj-i Shakkar, who was a native of the Punjab.[389] The exact role of this language in Indian Sufism is unclear. Indian dialects were undoubtedly the mother tongue for Muslims born in India; Persian and Arabic were the learned languages of the court and the mosque, for which special instruction was necessary. So it can be assumed that, on a practical level, Indian Sufis used these vernaculars in the market and to some extent at home. The more vexed question is that of the use of poetry in the Indian vernaculars, in which Sufi authors played an important role. The Sanskrit-based literary culture of Brahmanic India did not encourage the use of vernaculars for literary purposes. Yet in languages such as Hindi, Punjabi, Sindhi, Bengali, and even the Dravidian languages of the south, a number of important early compositions were written by Sufi poets, who adapted indigenous idioms, genres, and themes for their own purposes.[390] On this subject, too, modern studies have tended to fall into familiar ideological postures, ranging from regionalism to religious chauvinism. Since the Hindi-Urdu controversy of the late nineteenth century, Hindi has become identified with Hinduism and is the preferred official language of India, while Urdu is associated with Islam and holds the equivalent position in Pakistan. The artificiality of this situation is exposed not only by the difficulty of distinguishing between the two tongues on the bazaar level, but also by the impossibility of tracing this political distinction any further back than a century or so.

Since the literary use of Indian languages by Sufis implies some kind of direct contact with Indian culture and religion, the immense weight of received opinion has led many to assume that the Sufis wrote in Indian languages in order to convert Indians to Islam. The historiographical considerations just advanced put this assumption under suspicion. The Khuldabad *malfuzat** texts furnish a number of examples of Hindawi* poetry that have not been previously considered by scholars. These specimens indicate that the poetry written by the early Chishtis* was in a number of cases aimed at a very restricted audience, consisting of elite Sufis who were familiar with the local language. Incidentally, these verses may help clear up one of the most troublesome problems in Indian literary history, the problem of the authorship of the Farid* verses in the Guru* Granth Sahib* of the Sikhs. Sixteen Hindawi* verses plus a few phrases and proverbs can be found in the Khuldabad texts.[391] The manuscripts are all rather late, none predating Aurangzib (d. 1707), and so the poems are predictably somewhat corrupted and difficult to decipher, especially since scribes of the Persian text could not always be expected to recognize the peculiarities of the old dialect. A full study of these verses will need to be undertaken by experts in Punjabi on the basis of a comparison between the Khuldabad manuscript of *Hidayat** *al-qulub** and the Hyderabad copy, to which

I have not had access. Nonetheless, a preliminary examination by Christopher Shackle still permits us to draw some conclusions. [392]

The Hindawi* verses in the Khuldabad texts occur in contexts that are heavily laden with Islamic themes, so that their net effect is to add an Indian sensibility that modulates the quality of the Islamic material. In themselves, however, these verses do not convey any distinctively Islamic import, so that it is difficult to imagine them as devices to impart a knowledge of Islam to non-Muslims. The purpose of this kind of poetry seems rather to be that of reinforcing the subject at hand by means of a powerful literary tool that had great appeal to an audience of Indian Sufis. The verses (mostly couplets called *dohras*) address topics such as opposing the self (*nafs*) by serving others, using the image of a mother who is kind to her sons.[393] Burhan* al-Din* Gharib's* disciple Mubarak* once was on the point of going to see a dervish who was lodging in the house of a noble, when his master appeared to him in a dream, reciting a riddle verse that dissuaded the disciple from seeking a false master.[394] Here a distinctively Sufi dilemma, whether to approach strange dervishes, is resolved by the earthy language of the poem. Another verse uses the imagery of yogis to make a stem warning against self-deception; it tells the listener not to get covered with ashes like a yogi, simply in order to use the bhang (cannabis liquor) and forehead-mark that are the yogi's trademarks.[395] The main point here, however, is part of the Sufi analysis of the ego, which deludes one into thinking that gnosis has been attained. Frequently the Hindawi* quotations are sandwiched between Persian verses and Qur'anic* passages.[396] A picturesque verse on following a difficult road is used to underline the necessity of following the *shari`a**, and it is followed by citations from the Qur'an*.[397] The most telling example, however, is a macaronic verse that is only three-fourths Hindawi*; the remaining portion is an Arabic quotation from the Qur'an*. Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* recited this verse, perhaps spontaneously, in commenting on the Qur'anic* verse (43.32), "We apportioned among them their livelihood in the life of this world."[398] A verse that is part Hindawi* and part Arabic could only be directed at an audience that was firmly ensconced in the Islamic tradition, but at the same time open to having the tradition's nuances explored through Indian imagery.

The subsidiary question of the Farid* material in the Guru* Granth Sahib* concerns some hundred-odd couplets plus a few longer fragments of Hindawi* attributed to Farid* al-Din* Ganj-i Shakkar. This material, which Guru* Arjun collected in his recension of 1604, accompanied the poems of various north Indian saintly figures held to be compatible with the message of the Sikh gurus*. The Farid* verses, the only ones from a Muslim to be included in the Granth, have been the subject of controversy ever since MacAuliffe challenged their authenticity in 1904. In his translation of the Granth, MacAuliffe maintained that it was impossible that these verses attributed to Farid* al-Din*

Ganj-i Shakkar (d. 664/1265) could have been written by him; instead, he maintained, they must have been written by one Shaykh Ibrahim * (d. 960/1552), a descendant of Farid* al-Din* Ganj-i Shakkar known as "Farid* the Second."[399] This hypercritical conclusion was never favorably received within the Sikh community. The authoritativeness of oral tradition was, for the Sikhs, a sufficient guarantee of the authenticity and antiquity of the Farid* verses. Other scholars, while not ruling out the possibility that Farid* al-Din* Ganj-i Shakkar had composed Hindawi* poetry, questioned whether he had, since the known *malfuzat** texts made no mention of them, nor was there any literary trace of these verses predating the Granth itself.[400] This is where the Khuldabad texts provide an invaluable documentation, since Zayn al-Din* Shirazi* in his discourses quoted seven Hindawi* poems by Farid* al-Din* Ganj-i Shakkar, one of which is found in the Granth.[401] While the undated manuscript containing these quotations from Farid* al-Din* Ganj-i Shakkar is late, the appropriateness of these verses in their contexts makes interpolation seem unlikely. In that case, at the very least, one can assume that a corpus of poems acknowledged to be Farid's* was in circulation in Chishti* circles within a century after his death (the passage in question was written some time before 766/1364-65, the next date to appear in the text). This evidence favors the strength of the oral tradition of Punjabi poetry, and the continuity of the Sikh Farid* material with the older poems of the Sufi tradition. Thus poems in Indian languages using the full range of Indian idioms could be used by Sufis in thoroughly Islamized contexts while at the same time non-Muslim Indian religious groups could easily appropriate a significant number of the same verses, precisely because they had little distinctively Islamic content. The explanation for the Sufi interest in Indian literature may turn out to be fairly simple, on the aesthetic level. They used Indian poetry because they liked it, and they interpreted it in terms of their own Sufi teachings. If we can take the Sufi adoption of Indian literature as a typical example, then the Indian environment was the world in which these Sufis lived. From it they took attractive materials, whether *pan** leaves or poems, which in this way became ancillary to Sufi teaching and practice.

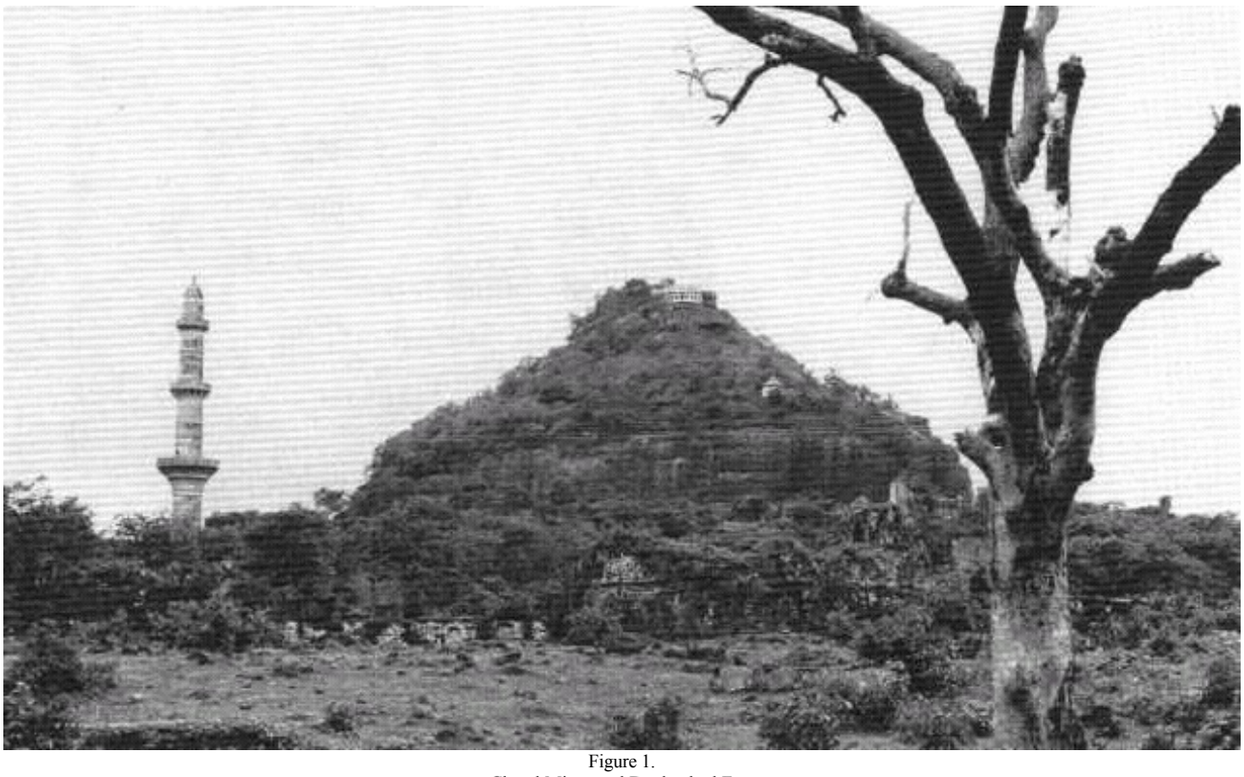


Figure 1.
Chand Minar and Daulatabad Fort

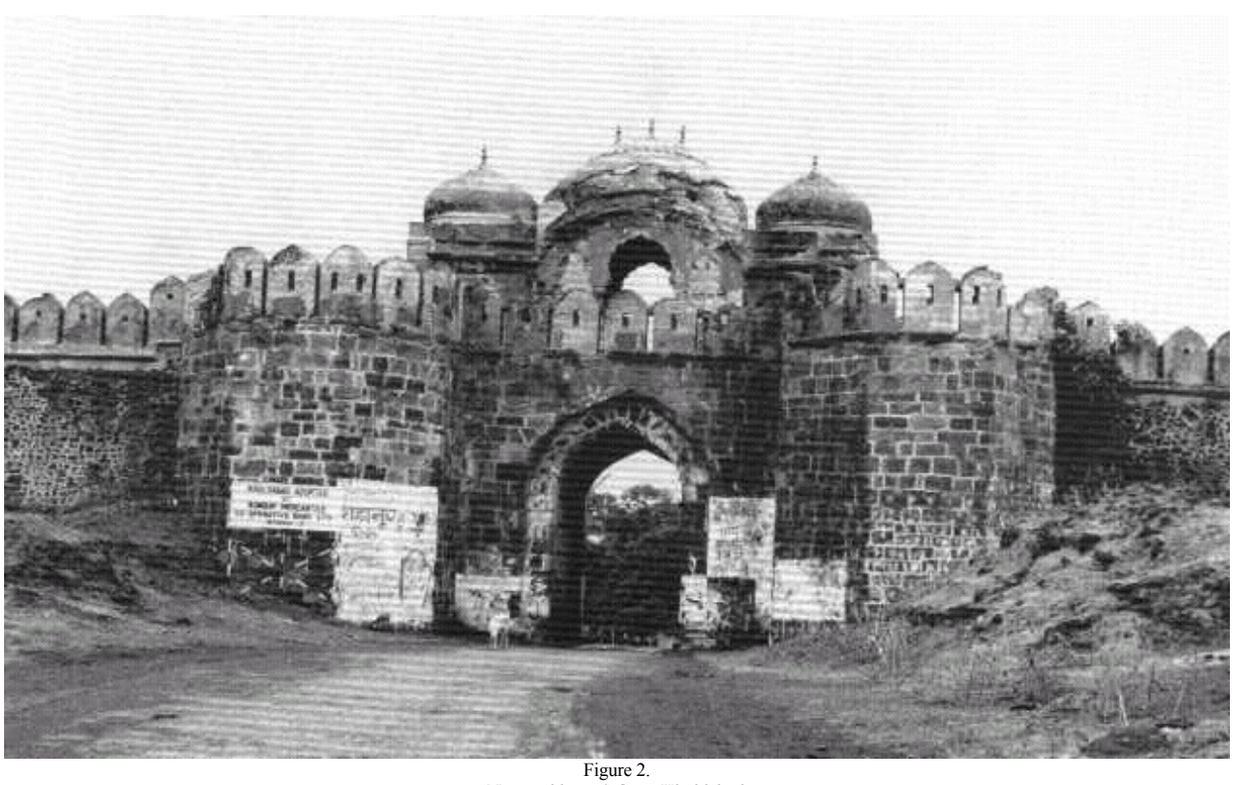


Figure 2.
Naqqar-khana * Gate, Khuldabad

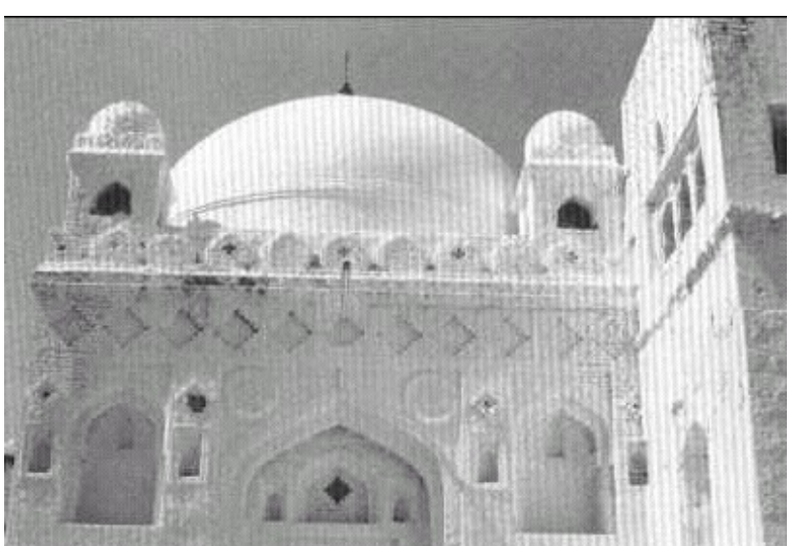


Figure 3.
Outer Entrance to the Shrine Complex of Burhan* al-Din* Gharib*

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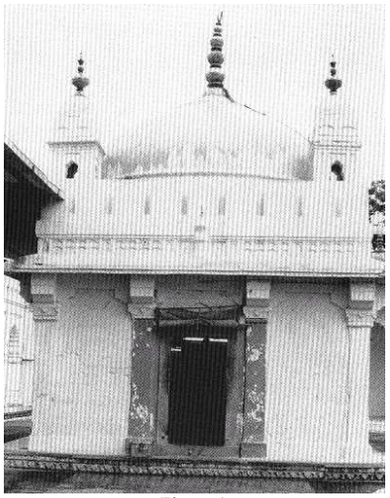

Figure 4.
The Tomb of Burhan* al-Din* Ghaib*

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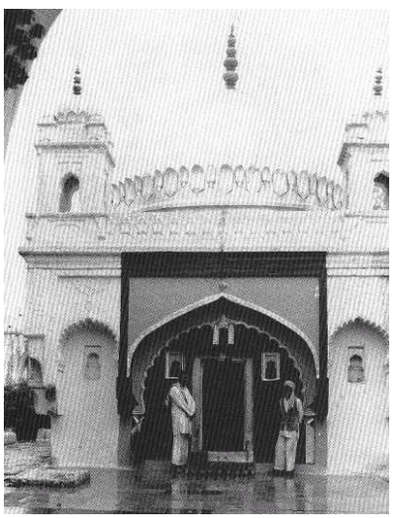

Figure 5.
The Tomb of Muntajib al-Din* Zar Zari* Zar Bakhsh

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Figure 6.
The Shrine Complex of Zayn al-Din* Shirazi*

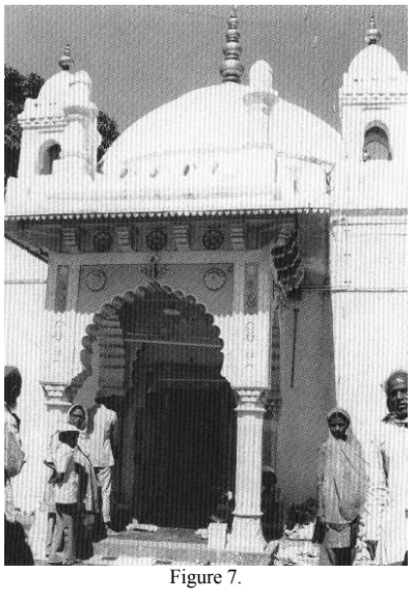

Figure 7.
The Tomb of Zayn al-Din* Shirazi*

Figure 8.
Open tombs of Muhammad* A`zam and his wife Awrangi* Bibi* next to the tomb of Khwan* Bibi* Sahiba*, in the shrine complex of Zayn al-Din* Shirazi*. Women pilgrims who visit Khwan* Bibi* leave bangles as pledges over the doorway.

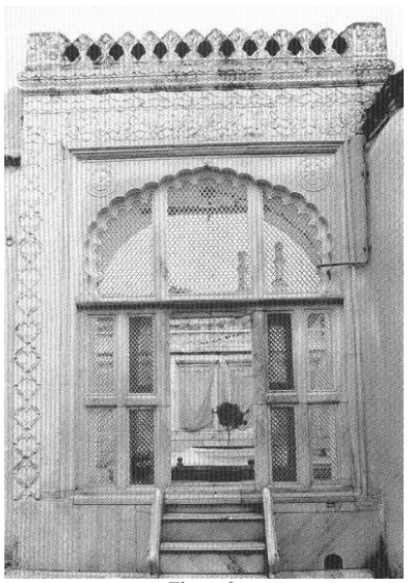

Figure 9.
The open tomb of the Mughul emperor Awrangzib* in the shrine complex of Zayn al-Din* Shirazi*. It is now surrounded by a marble platform and screens erected by the Nizam of Hyderabad.

Figure 10.
Portrait of a Mughal Emperor, late 18th century. Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. © 1991 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

Figure 11.
Naqqar-Khana* (royal drum balcony) overlooking the inner courtyard of the Dargah* of Zayn al-Din* Shirazi*. Similar ones are found at the shrines of Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* and Muntajib al-Din* Zar Zari* Zar Bakhsh.

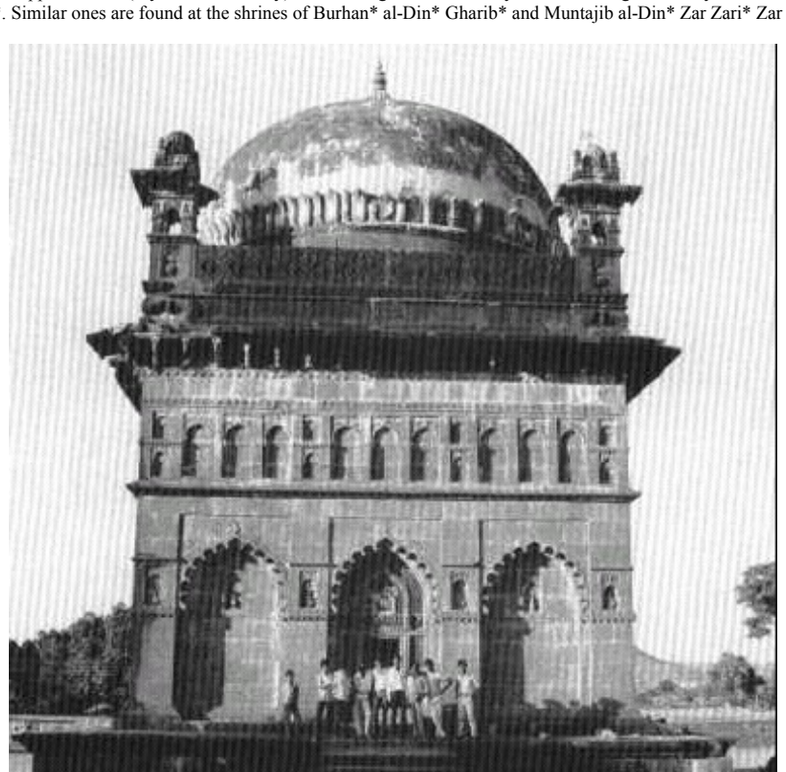

Figure 12.
The Tomb of Malik 'Anbar

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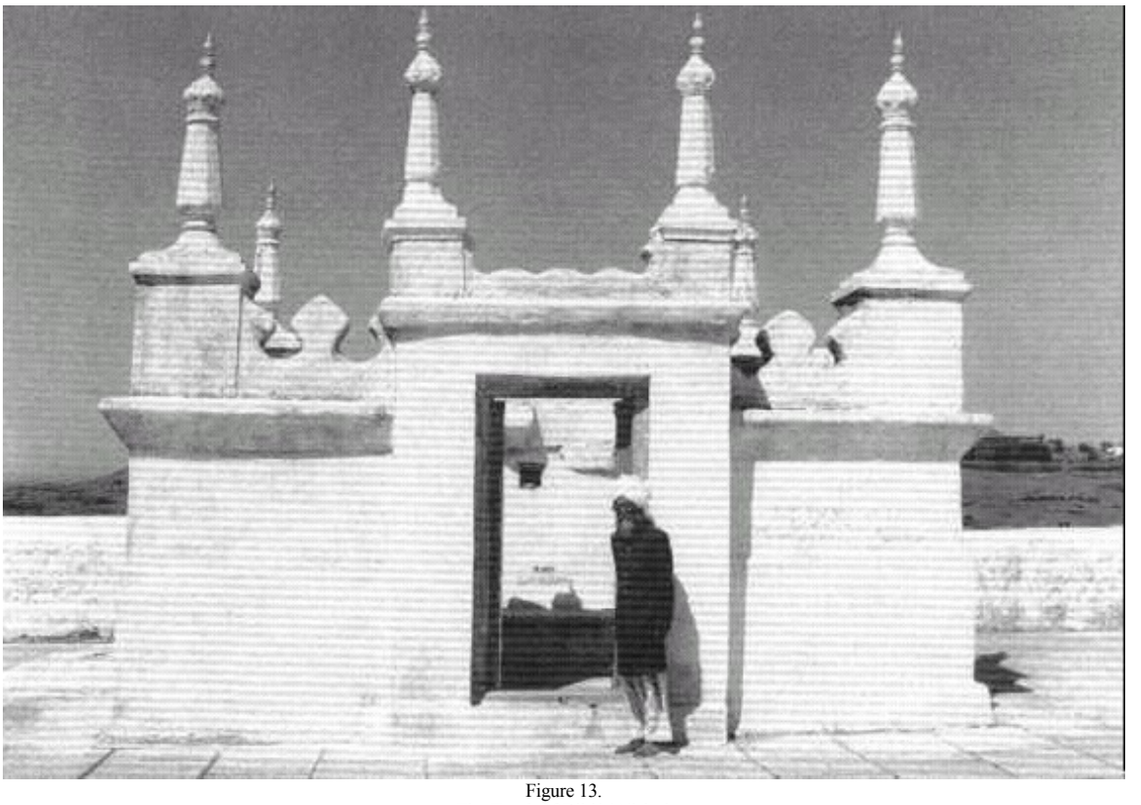

Figure 13.
The Tomb of Bibi* 'A'isha*

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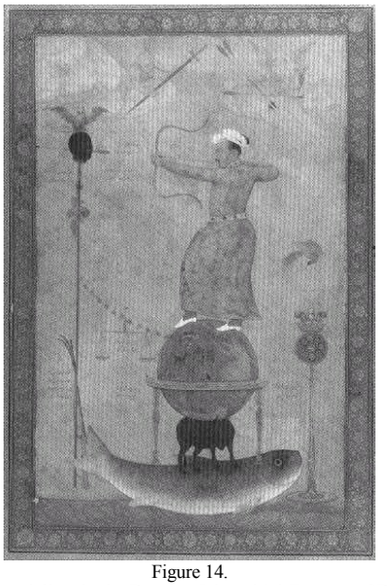

Figure 14.
Mughul Imperialism in the Deccan: Jahangir's* Fantasy of Destroying
Malik `Anbar

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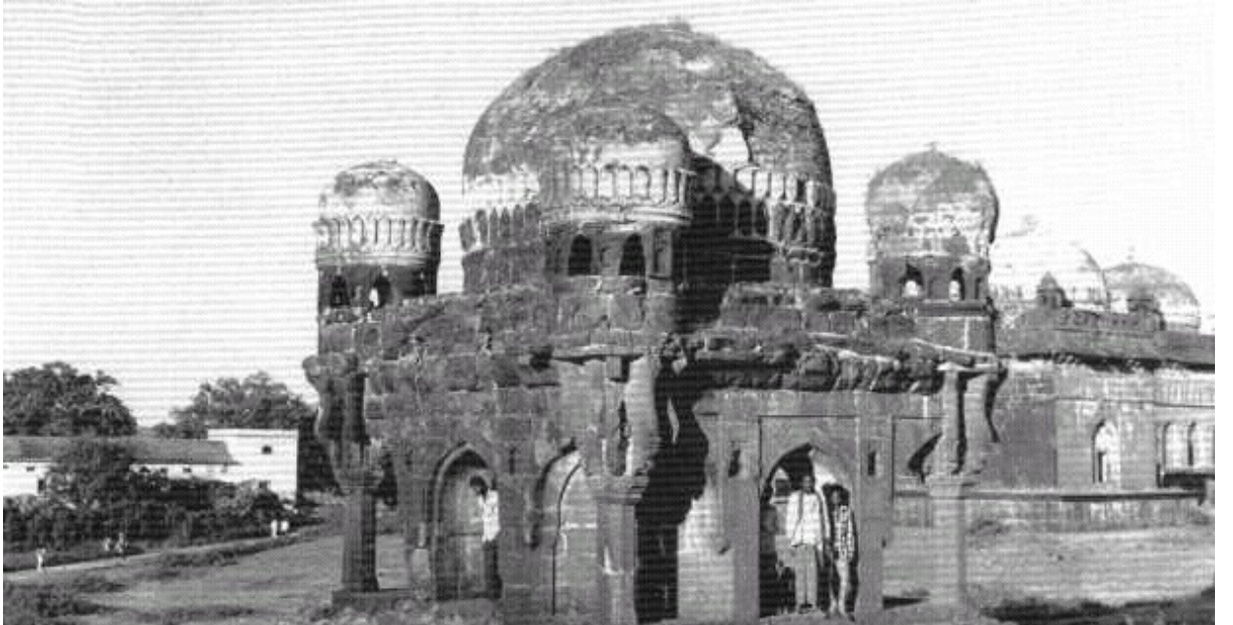


Figure 15.
The Tomb of Sidi* `Abd al-Rahman*

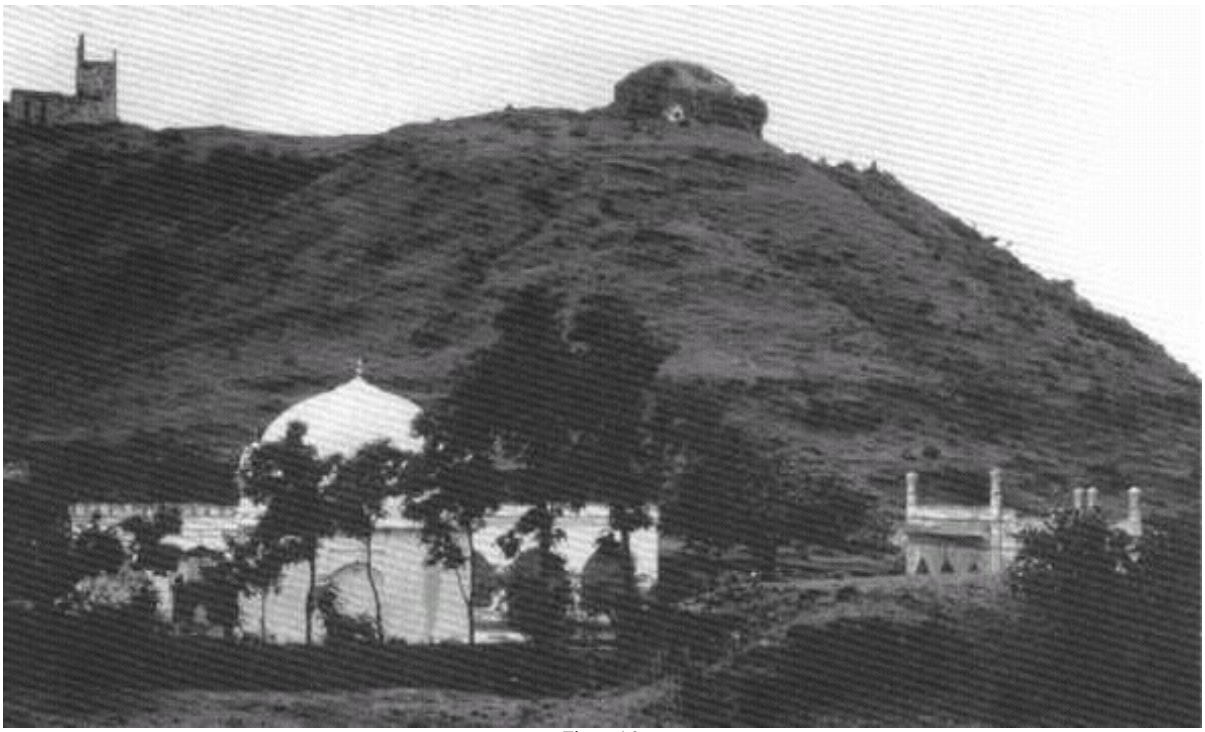


Figure 16.
The Tomb of Sayyid Yusuf* al-Husanyi* Raju* Qattal* (below, left), the Mosque of Fourteen Hundred Saints (below, right), the Mosque on Hoda Hill (above, left), and the Meditation Chamber of Muntajib al-Din* Zar Zari* Zar Bakhsh (above, right)

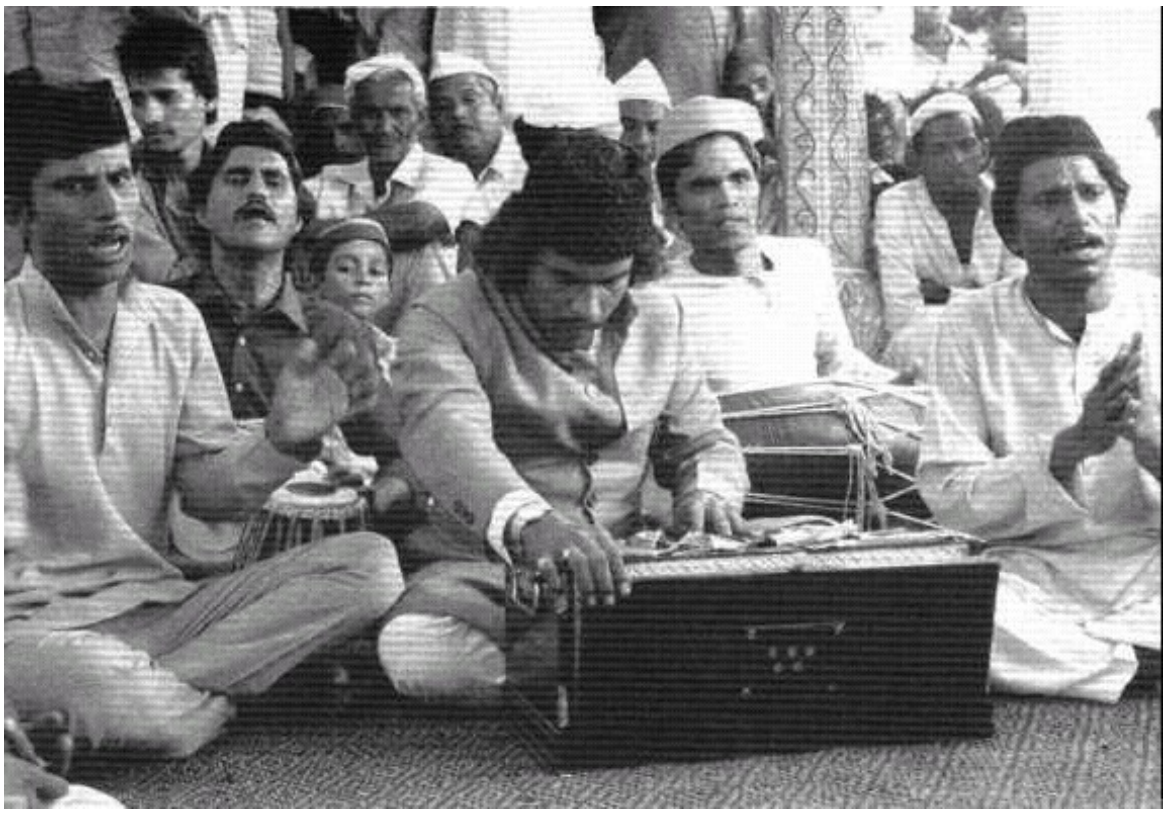


Figure 17.
Qawwals Performing at the Tomb of Burhan* al-Din* Gharib*

PART III
THE KHULDABAD SUFIS IN HISTORY

To the Sufism of the textbooks and manuals of discipline it is necessary to add a Sufism of history. The constant interweaving of political and saintly historiographies makes it imperative that the relations between court and shrine be further detailed. The exploration of the historical embodiment of Sufism in society can be undertaken in three stages. The first stage covers the relations between the Chishtis * of Khuldabad and contemporary political figures in the administration of Sultan Muhammad* ibn Tughluq. With the end of active Sufi teaching at Khuldabad after the death of Zayn al-Din*, the second stage begins, in which the Sufi shrines take on a political role in the legitimation of dynastic authority.

The political role of Khuldabad, which was cemented with regular and increasing endowments, played a part in the development of the nearby Deccan kingdoms (Bahmanis*, Faruqis*, Nizamshahs*) and in the later policies of the Mughuls and the Nizams. The relations between the shrines and the various dynasties are documented by a memorandum written by a shrine trustee in the late fifteenth century and by a series of revenue documents from the seventeenth through nineteenth centuries (these documents are presented as Appendixes B and C). The third stage in the historical distribution of Sufism is through hagiographies that, with the addition of some royal historiography, have been projected onto local cosmologies to form an intricate local sacred geography.

9
Political Relations of the Khuldabad Chishtis *

The teachings of the Khuldabad Chishtis* strictly militated against accepting gifts that could compromise their independence or principles, but there were conditions under which such gifts could be accepted. In the chapter on "The Condition of the Legitimacy of Donations," Hammad* al-Din* Kashani* enumerated a number of specific situations regarding the acceptance of gifts. If someone brings something with the intention of helping someone to be occupied with God, the donation should not be declared unlawful. Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* said, "When the Shaykh al-Islam* Nizam* al-Din* (God sanctify his conscience) gave me authorization (*ijazat**), he said, 'Take worthy people as disciples, and on the subject of donations, no rejecting, no asking, no saving (*la* radd wa la* kadd wa la* madd*). If anyone brings you something, do not reject it, and do not ask for anything, but if they bring a little of something good, do not reject it to get it increased, and do not accept by specifying everything [one needs].'"[1]

In the same way, Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* observed that one should not sit in the mosque continually looking at the door to see if anyone is bringing something; that nullifies any effort to maintain trust in God.[2] Nor should one ask God for anything; Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* instructed some of his disciples in a prayer that went as follows: "God, give me high concentration so that I ask you for nothing but yourself."[3] Acceptance of gifts was possible, or even necessary, provided that they were unsolicited and not saved up. It was a generally accepted principle that if any gifts were saved, that would prevent any new donations from coming in. Greed and covetousness would act as obstacles to the divine bounty. Farid* al-Din* Ganj-i Shakkar is quoted as saying, "Nothing comes to the clenched fist. Open up that they may open up; give that you may find."[4] Borrowing was also frowned upon, since that too would interfere with unsolicited donations.[5] From the viewpoint of Islamic law, it is noteworthy that Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* firmly distinguished un-

solicited donations (*futuh* *) from the obligatory alms tax (*zakat**), and when Zayn al-Din* was offered something by way of alms tax, Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* advised him to reject it.[6] Also unacceptable was any donation derived from illicit wealth, following the old Sufi teaching regarding the "lawful morsel." Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* related that once a woman had a son who received a horse and cloak from a prince. People congratulated her, but she asked, "What sort of good news is this, that someone gave him something?"[7]

Zayn al-Din* continued to stress the same principles taught by Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* with respect to gifts. He observed, "dervishes do not think of collecting or spending. [Since they are] sitting next to the treasury of God, whenever they spend, another grace arrives. In the same way, a person sitting next to the edge of a stream does not have any inclination to spend the water. Whenever they do spend, another grace arrives. If dervishes keep treasure, no other expense will ever arrive."[8] Since saving wealth would act as an obstacle to this flowing grace, in principle accepting land grants would be out of the question, since they would provide regular income. Burhan* al-Din* Gharib*, in a testament delivered while he apparently was on the point of death in 735/1335, had quoted the advice of his master Nizam* al-Din*, that those who follow him should accept no village or stipend (*dih wa idrar**).[9] Thus Zayn al-Din* said that dervishes have no land-assignment (*iqta**') on earth.[10] If renunciation is the Sufi's goal, service to kings will be an impediment. In this connection Zayn al-Din* told the story of a sick king whom a dervish healed. The dervish refused to accept any reward, since hunger and helplessness were the source of his own power.[11]

A number of government administrators appear in the *malfuzat** texts in the role of visitors to the Sufi shaykh. Sometimes these figures are just onlookers, such as Malik Husam* al-Din* Pahlavan-i* Jahan*, a military leader who was present during a discussion on performing extra prayers.[12] Another such was Nizam* al-Din* Firuz* Majmu`dar* ("the auditor"), who came with Rukn al-Din* Kashani* during a discussion of preaching.[13] A scribe named Sa`d al-Din* Dabir* received initiation and heard a discourse about the need for the initiatic hat or cloak.[14] A centurion (*amir-i* sada**) named Nasir* al-Din* is quoted as the source for an anecdote concerning the disciples of Burhan* al-Din* Gharib*; this soldier may have been among the group of centurions whose revolt later precipitated Delhi's loss of the Deccan.[15] Other notables remain anonymous. Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* gave dates to one unnamed notable (*`aziz**). Another notable asking to become a disciple was questioned about his prayer habits and instructed in how to keep good company and use only legal food. An unnamed figure made casual conversation concerning the increase in the price of grain.[16] It is hard to draw any conclusions about the nature of the relationship between Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* and these government figures, except to say that he seems to have had a significant following among administrators.

Other incidents indicate that the influence of Burhan * al-Din* Gharib* at court was considerable, so that some people tried to bribe and influence him to intercede with the authorities on their behalf. A scholar named Mawlana* Mu`izz al-Din* Khattat*, a friend of Burhan* al-Din* Gharib*, one day brought the shaykh a garment. When presenting it, he admitted he was seeking a favor for a noble called `Ala'* al-Mulk; Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* rejected this as a bribe. He made it a rule that in such cases, he might listen to the request, but would always refuse the gift, for "dervishes are not bribe-takers."[17] An example of the kind of influence Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* could wield can be seen in the subsequent fate of the same `Ala'* al-Mulk, as related by Maid al-Din* Kashani* in the hagiographical *Ghara'ib* al-karamat*. Burhan* al-Din* Gharib's* attendant Kaka* Shad* Bakhsh tells the story that once Sultan Muhammad* ibn Tughluq ordered `Ala'* al-Mulk to appear at court, and in a fright, the latter went to Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* for help. Courtiers never knew if the unpredictable sultan had summoned them in order to execute them or to reward them. The shaykh, however, prophesied that things would turn out well. `Ala'* al-Mulk in fact received a robe and court dress (*khil`at*), and was given the revenue collection (*shughl-i `aridi**) of Daulatabad and the wazirate. He accordingly headed for the regional capital of Sultanpur and got established there. Afterward he came to Burhan* al-Din* Gharib*, who told him to take care of the needs of some dervishes in Sultanpur. He agreed, but on his return there began to torment and suppress the Sufi devotees and their families in some unspecified way. After Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* heard of this, the sultan's attitude toward `Ala'* al-Mulk changed, and after hearing reports of the latter's malfeasance the sultan removed him from the post. Once again `Ala'* al-Mulk spoke to Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* and said that he had been enrolled in the cavalry of Khwaja-i* Jahan* and was going with him to Delhi. Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* wondered aloud if he would survive the trip, but `Ala'* al-Mulk optimistically replied that he had no fear because of their close relationship. Burhan* al-Din* Gharib*, ominously, did not reply, and `Ala'* al-Mulk departed. When `Ala'* al-Mulk reached Khwaja-i* Jahan*, he was put to death.[18] This story shows the power of Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* whether as friend or enemy. Government figures who thought they had ingratiated themselves with the shaykh could forfeit their support by alienating the shaykh with anti-Sufi policies.

An especially interesting case of Sufi relations with the government concerns Malik al-Muluk*, a noble who became a disciple of Burhan* al-Din* Gharib*. The unusually full account of their meeting, recounted in three sessions that took place during the space of ten days (16-26 Dhu* al-Hijja* 736/26 July-5 August 1336), can be summarized as follows. This noble's official title was Mukhlis* al-Mulk Kamran*, and he was a nephew of the central Asian Sufi `Ala'* al-Dawla Simnani*. His father `Imad* al-Din* Simnani* was given the title Malik al-Muluk* and governorship of the Deccan principality of Lajwara. The sultan once gave Malik al-Muluk* `Imad* al-Din* a splendid gift of seventeen

lakhs of tankas. [19] The younger Malik al-Muluk* even married a daughter of the sultan. When Rukn al-Din* Kashani* first brought Malik al-Muluk* to meet Burhan* al-Din* Gharib*, Malik al-Muluk* expressed his wish to enter the Sufi path; he explained that this was not a sudden decision, but had been on his mind for some time. Kaka* Shad Bakhsh confirmed that Malik al-Muluk* had long wished to see Burhan* al-Din* Gharib*. Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* warned him that it is difficult. Malik al-Muluk* said that he had read the Qur'an* sixteen times, and when he demonstrated his ability in recitation of the scripture, Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* was so pleased that he gave Malik al-Muluk* a hat. Observing that Malik al-Muluk's* real name was Mahmud*, Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* expressed the hope that his life would be "praised" (*mahmud**).

A few days later, Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* asked how things were with Malik al-Muluk*. Rukn al-Din* Kashani* replied that they had performed Friday prayers at the enclosure of Muntajib al-Din*, where Rukn al-Din* taught him special prayers. Malik al-Muluk* told Rukn al-Din* and his friend Qazi* `Arif* Kashani* that he was now one of them, and that he was extremely happy to become part of Burhan* al-Din* Gharib's* circle of devotees. Rukn al-Din* Kashani* then saw him the next day at Ellora, still wearing the hat presented to him by Burhan* al-Din* Gharib*. Rukn al-Din* told him to wear it for three days, to preserve it afterward to keep it from getting dirty, but in any case never to wash it. Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* approved of this advice, and added that a robe from the master, when sweaty, should never be washed—thus one should never wear it to the privy, just as in the case of amulets and talismans. Then followed some talk about Malik al-Muluk's* family and political connections. Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* mentioned that he had heard that Malik al-Muluk* was distinguished for his generosity. Rukn al-Din* Kashani* replied that his family was liberal to all who were connected to them, uniquely so in their time; they did not stint in giving robes, grain, stipends, or money. Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* then asked whether Malik al-Muluk* was favorably inclined to dervishes. Rukn al-Din* said that he was a man of good character and very devoted to the Sufis. Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* then reflected that Malik al-Muluk* might be a good influence on some of the disciples who are not yet firm. He further suggested that Malik al-Muluk* be taught the supererogatory dawn prayers.

Again a few days later Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* asked about Malik al-Muluk*, and was told that he wanted to visit the shaykh again, but that the sultan was unhappy with him. Rukn al-Din* Kashani* said that the sultan had ordered Malik al-Muluk* to do things that would injure the people, and Malik al-Muluk* was resisting this. Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* approved Malik al-Muluk's* wish to avoid injuring people—one should see God's will in this, he said.[20] It is not clear which of the sultan's policies aroused the opposition of Malik al-Muluk*; it was to be another four years before the centurions of Daulatabad would revolt in 741/1340. Malik al-Muluk* was later deprived

of his title (presumably because of his opposition to the sultan), and he was renamed Mahmud * in fulfillment of Burhan* al-Din* Gharib's* prediction, while his brother `Aziz* Allah* received the title.[21]

Another important official who was a disciple of Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* was Qutlugh Khan*, the tutor to the sultan. Qutlugh Khan* was the governor of the Deccan at Daulatabad from 1335 to 1344.[22] Zayn al-Din* Shirazi* regarded Qutlugh Khan* as a close friend and as a model Sufi. He refers to the manners of Qutlugh Khan* during prayer, and quotes him saying that the path has nothing to do with glory.[23] Zayn al-Din* refers to Qutlugh Khan* by three respectful titles: *mawlana** (lit., "our master"), an epithet for the learned; *`alim**, "scholar"; and *dabir**, "secretary." Reflecting on his early days in Daulatabad, he observed that his meeting with Qutlugh Khan* was truly providential; when he was staying alone at the house of Khwaja-i* Jahan*, God brought the two of them together, and then other friends began to appear.[24] Majd al-Din* Kashani* praised Qutlugh Khan* as being outwardly a king but inwardly a Sufi, with a style of writing similar to that of `Ayn al-Quzat*. Majd al-Din* records that before becoming a Sufi, Qutlugh Khan* was summoned by Burhan* al-Din* Gharib*, and came with some trepidation. The shaykh presciently explained to him the significance of the events of his life, so Qutlugh Khan* soon became a disciple as ardent as the famous Sumnun* "the Lover."[25]

When Qutlugh Khan* was removed from the governorship of the Deccan late in 1344, the sultan replaced him with his brother `Alim* al-Mulk and appointed `Aziz* Khammar* to the governorship of Malwa. Qutlugh Khan* had been blamed for his laxity toward the centurions (*amiran-i* sada**), military officers in charge of a hundred (*sad**) soldiers who also collected revenue for the civil administration. `Aziz* Khammar* was given carte blanche by the sultan to undertake reprisals against the centurions, and his harsh measures led directly to the revolt that successfully threw off the authority of Delhi within a few years.[26] Zayn al-Din* Shirazi* viewed the governorship of `Aziz* Khammar* as a catastrophe, and he used this story as an example of the results of injustice. According to Zayn al-Din*, when `Aziz* Khammar* arrived in Malwa, he proceeded to plunder the people ruthlessly, so that they fled to the hills. He seized all their property and turned soldiers loose on the villages and peasants. When the district quickly became ruined, he could no longer provide for his soldiers, who by then were poor, tattered, and afflicted. Qutlugh Khan* found out and wrote to the sultan, who replied that anyone who could restore the land assignment could have it. Qutlugh Khan* advised summoning `Aziz* Khammar* to court for reprimand and replacement. This was not to be, however, since `Aziz* Khammar* was killed in February or March of 1345, fighting the centurions in Gujarat. Some of the soldiers of Malwa came to Zayn al-Din* Shirazi* seeking his prayers, and they were in a wretched condition, confirming the evil deeds of `Aziz*. Only one soldier appeared to be well-fed and

finely dressed. He had refused to plunder the villages or take anything from anyone, but spent what he had lawfully and fed some hungry people. He was accordingly befriended by a saint who loaned the soldier fifty *tankas* to equip himself, as God's reward for his lawful behavior. [27]

Although he had been removed from the governorship of the Deccan in 745/1344, Qutlugh Khan* appears to have returned to Daulatabad when the sultan's armies attempted to put down the revolt there. In September 1346 the successful Deccani rebels had crowned Isma'il* Mukh sultan in Daulatabad. Qutlugh Khan's* presence some months later in Daulatabad, which is not mentioned in the dynastic chronicles, occurred when Sultan Muhammad* ibn Tughluq came to the Deccan to put down the rebellion. Qutlugh Khan* used this opportunity to see Zayn al-Din* again. In a passage dated 2 Dhu* al-Hijja* 747/16 March 1347, we are told that Qutlugh Khan* was present in the assembly of Zayn al-Din* and asked a question about the meaning of a famous Persian verse.[28] This assembly took place in Ellora, some miles outside Daulatabad, where Zayn al-Din* was summoned to meet the army of sultan Muhammad* ibn Tughluq after the defeat of Isma`il* Mukh's army. He would soon be taken back to Delhi along with all the elite Muslim population of Daulatabad in the company of the future Firuz* Shah* and other nobles.[29] It appears from his comments to his audience that the shaykh was concerned about the welfare of his followers in the army. He told a story using the metaphor of the army quartermaster looking after horses to illustrate his own position as guide to his disciples. "In this way, the masters do not let disciples depart from their companionship.... The master investigates their state in his dominion (*vilayat**)."[30] Thus in the midst of a rebellion, Zayn al-Din* and his soldier disciples managed to have a gathering even as the sultan prepared to extract his revenge from the rebels in Daulatabad. According to Azad*, Zayn al-Din* took advantage of this forced return to northern India to perform pilgrimage at the tombs of the early Chishti* saints in Delhi, Ajodhan, and Ajmer.[31] Zayn al-Din* would be welcomed back to Daulatabad by the Bahmani* official Muhammad* `Ayn al-Din* Khwaja-i* Jahan* and thirty-four others, on his return sometime after 752/1352.[32]

The Chishti* masters such as Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* tried to stay clear of direct involvement with the court, but they often encouraged disciples to retain government posts, even when the disciples showed signs of wanting to renounce the world. It has already been seen in the case of Malik Mubarak* Shams al-Mulk that a senior disciple destined to become one of the master's successors could continue in secular office, at the express command of the master. Rukn al-Din* Kashani* on at least two occasions expressed the desire to give up his position for the dervish life, but Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* consistently counseled him to stick to his duty (above, Part II, chap. 7). The same thing occurred in the case of Qutlugh Khan* and several others. Zayn al-Din* reflected on this paradox in an extended series of remarks:

> If someone enters the path of poverty, he should not give up his work and acquisition. Service work and the like does not prevent obedience and trust in God. Whatever they do, they pursue their work. The revered Shaykh al-Islam * Burhan* al-Din* had some income (*nan-i* amanat**) before his initiation, and after initiation, however much he said to the revered Shaykh al-Islam* Nizam* al-Din*, "I will give it up," permission was not granted until God most high showed his grace and brought him out [of worldly society]. Amir* Khusraw was a courtier, and was distinguished among the poets. Time and again he said to the master [Nizam* al-Din*], "No one has peace or satisfaction who for a day has spoken eulogies of anyone." He came to the master's presence and cast his turban on the ground, crying out, "How long will I praise these tyrants?" The master said, "Be patient, until God does something." Mawlana* `Alim* Dabir* Qutlugh Khan* time and again cried out to the shaykh, "I will give up serving the people." The shaykh said, "No, my friend, go to the court and perform your duty, but also pursue your obedience and worship, until God brings something before you." There was a soldier who became attached to the shaykh. After some time, he said, "The decorations of my horse are my impediments. I will give up service and get rid of my horse." The shaykh said, "My friend, God most high gave Salih* the Prophet (peace be upon him) a camel, and to the Prophet Jesus (peace be upon him) he gave a donkey. He has given you a horse. Do not get rid of it, endure your sadness, and pursue your work until God does something. A time will come when the divine nature will release you from all impediments. Alone, you cannot extricate yourself from attachments and impediments; God gives release. Until that time, you should be involved with what you have, and obey, worship, give thanks, and be patient."[33]

This list of those who sought renunciation and were advised against it is impressive. Amir* Khusraw, the panegyrist to seven sultans of Delhi, must indeed have sickened over the fantastic hyperbolic poetry he ingeniously churned out for decades. Only in the privacy of the relationship with Nizam* al-Din* could he give expression to the resentment he felt over this task. It was only someone with a special vocation for the life of renunciation who would be called to it by divine invitation; even Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* had to wait until the proper time. The same thing happened with Mir* Hasan*, who twice announced to Zayn al-Din* his intention of renouncing the world; on both occasions he was told to remember God in this world and use his work for God.[34]

One story shows the delicate balance that Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* tried to keep in his relations with the sultan. The hagiographer Majd al-Din* Kashani*

relates that Sultan Muhammad * ibn Tughluq once came to Daulatabad and asked to see all the *`ulama** and shaykhs. The noble Ahmad* Ayaz* Khwaja-i* Jahan* informed him that he had seen all the religious leaders except Burhan* al-Din* Gharib*. The sultan did not even want to hear the name of this shaykh, as in his youth he had met Burhan* al-Din* Gharib*, but the latter had proved to be so independent (*kamal-i* istighna**') that he paid no attention to the future king. But then the sultan decided that he wished to see Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* anyway, and on a Friday after leading prayers he asked to go to the shaykh's house. Amir* Khusraw's son Malik Mubarak* ran ahead to tell the shaykh. The noise of the procession reached the house and alarmed Burhan* al-Din* Gharib*, so he prayed that the sultan would not come. As it happened, the sultan suddenly had a change of heart and turned back. At this time, however, the sultan had some problems, and he sent three thousand *tankas* with Malik Na'ib* Barbak and Firuz* Shah* as a gift to the shaykh. This sum was conveyed with the express wish that the shaykh give his blessing and help solve the problem. Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* replied that he had no power in his heart to do this, so he returned the gift. The sultan realized that he had infringed upon the customs of the Chishtis*, so he sent the money back with the stipulation that it was only a gift for Burhan* al-Din* Gharib's* attendants. This time it was accepted. Kaka* Shad* Bakhsh suggested that it be sent to the shaykh's house, where there were already twenty *tankas* kept. Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* told him instead to bring that money and distribute it, together with the sultan's gift, at once. Majd al-Din* was present and took part in this distribution. Malik Na`ib* Barbak also witnessed this, and Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* recited to him some admonitory verses about sowing what one reaps. He also sent the sultan a prayer carpet and some dates.[35]

This narrative illustrates the ideal of saintly independence at its height. Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* not only had snubbed the sultan in his youth, but also felt free to refuse his gift, or to accept it under the proper conditions but give it away immediately. Yet the shaykh was also careful to demonstrate his good manners by sending the sultan an appropriate present rather than offend him by overt defiance. There were times, however, when the saints might feel like being a little more blunt, to judge from a passing remark by Zayn al-Din*. The shaykh was commenting that, just as a sultan can raise the recommended salary of an officer, so the master can forbid a disciple's apparently spiritual plans in order to bring about something better. He then remarked, "the intimates of the All-powerful have no less power and authority than the intimates of the metaphorical emperor (*padshah-i* majazi**). But one should not repeat to the people these stories taught at this time."[36] Though the Sufis might regard the sultans as metaphorical rulers in comparison With God, they generally curbed their tongues in public in order to keep from causing friction.

After the death of Burhan* al-Din* Gharib*, when the Deccan became more disturbed due to revolts, the saint's tomb was the people's only refuge in a

time of trouble. The situation became especially acute when the sultan crushed the rebel forces in Daulatabad and allowed his soldiers to loot the city indiscriminately.[37] Just prior to the meeting on 2 Dhu* al-Hijja* 747/16 March 1347, at Ellora with the sultan's army, Zayn al-Din* bitterly blamed the worldliness and indifference to religion that resulted in the sultan's savage reprisals on the population. "Inasmuch as Sultan Muhammad* ibn Tughluq has come to Deogir in the time of Isma`il* Mukh, all the people of Daulatabad, Deogir, and the villages have given up hope and washed their hands of life." His disciple Mir* Hasan* observed that the blood-shedding of the sultan had passed the limit, and the people were greatly disturbed. Zayn al-Din* then instructed him in five Qur'anic* prayers to prevent misfortune.[38]

A hagiographical account presents a different account of the sultan's reprisals on Daulatabad, which agrees only in locating the salvation of the people in Qur'anic* prayers. Majd al-Din* Kashani* depicts the sultan as unleashing in particular his Mongol troops, with the intention of having them slaughter every shaykh and scholar, and enslave all the women and children. The Mongols were to leave no sword in the scabbard for three days after the conquest. When this plan became clear, the people all went to the tomb of Burhan* al-Din* Gharib*, and asked him to help, since this dominion was his. That very night, Majd al-Din* Kashani* saw Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* in a dream, who told him to pay attention; the sultan would not be able to carry out his plan to kill everyone. But they must repeat a particular Qur'anic* prayer. When Majd al-Din* awoke, he at once began repeating this prayer. A few days later the armies of the sultan arrived and defeated Isma`il* Mulch and captured Daulatabad, but the plan of the sultan changed. Because of the blessing of the tomb of Burhan* al-Din* Gharib*, God changed the heart of the sultan, who left the people alive with all their possessions and freed the Muslim women and children enslaved by the Mongols. No one was hurt. The nobles and commanders, mostly Mongols, came to the tomb and pressed their faces on the threshold and performed pilgrimage. All the people of the region realized that their salvation was due to the help and protection of Burhan* al-Din* Gharib*. Those who were plundered and dispersed had participated in the rebellion and had themselves plundered the Muslims.

This event goes to show that the shaykh in life and death is the protector of the disciple.[39] This account, which presents an optimistic picture of the sultan's reprisals, also implausibly puts the execution of the nefarious scheme exclusively into the hands of demonic Mongols, who are nonetheless suitably humbled by the saint in the end; their few victims turn out to be guilty rebels, anyway. There may be a faint echo of this story in `Isami's* description of a stomachache that temporarily persuaded Sultan Muhammad* ibn Tughluq to desist from slaughtering the population of Daulatabad. With his usual malice toward the sultan, 'Isami* maintains, however, that "the Emperor of Delhi continued there for two months during which period he shed much blood of

the believers every now and then." [40] Again a historiographical divergence hinges upon the difference between a hagiographical exaltation of the authority of a saint and a royal epic depicting the tyranny of a despised monarch.

The Khuldabad texts portray the Sufis' relations with political power somewhere between independence and interdependence. Sufi principles in theory prevented certain kinds of interactions with kings, especially where gifts of money or land were concerned. The Sufis nonetheless occupied a privileged political position that drew the nobility and government functionaries to their lodges. Some eminent members of the court, like Malik al-Muluk* and Qutlugh Khan*, could become close disciples of shaykhs like Burhan* al-Din* Gharib*. What is most surprising is the frequency with which the Chishti* shaykhs refused to entertain the notion that their courtier disciples should renounce the world. The Chishtis* evidently felt that society and religious duty required that the average disciple fulfill the duties of office, while only the rare individual would be of a temperament to give up all worldly connections. The balance between the Sufi establishment and the political power was delicate. Excesses by the court were countered in hagiographical literature by miraculous intervention from the shrine. In history, the Khuldabad Sufis played a role that was certainly religious but undoubtedly political as well.

10
Political History of the Khuldabad Shrines

The Bahmani * Sultans

Although royal chronicles make brief references to Sufis in connection with their main theme of kingship, it is rare to have anything like a detailed administrative account of the relationship between Sufi shrines and the regimes. We are fortunate to have access to a remarkable text (translated as Appendix B), which sheds light on how the once independent shrine gradually became more and more closely associated with the Bahmani* sultans, from the very moment when they rejected Delhi's authority over the Deccan in the mid-fourteenth century. This anonymous document gives new evidence about the shrine's very first encounter with the patronage of kings, and gives a step-by-step chronicle of its increasing dependence on endowments from the Bahmanis*. Moreover, this memorandum demonstrates that the political importance of Khuldabad during the early years of the Bahmani* kingdom was much greater than was previously suspected.[41] Since the last event mentioned in the memorandum occurred in 887/1482, it appears that the text was written by a trustee of the shrine at the end of the fifteenth century, though the manuscript copy dates only from the early eighteenth century.

The document is of considerable importance as evidence for the administration and political role of early Sufi shrines in India. When viewed together with court chronicles and Sufi hagiographies, financial documents such as this reveal the developing role of Sufism in relation to the state, as one of the most significant sources of legitimation for political authority. The document invokes the authority of Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* and Zayn al-Din* Shirazi* to sanction the shrine's administration, although this could only be done by drastically revising the views of the Chishti* shaykhs as expressed in the *malfuzat** texts. To the extent that this textual revision justified an absorption of

the shrines into the sultans' land revenue system, it represents a victory for royal historiography.

The document is also written partly to explain the organization of the shrine's internal administration. As noted above (Part II, chap. 7), by the eighteenth century the shrine attendants were divided into three hereditary groups: (1) the master's descendants (*mawla-zadagan* *), descended from the sister of Burhan* al-Din* Gharib*; (2) the disciples (*muridan**), descended from Muhammad* Lashkar and Rashid* al-Din*; (3) the children (*farzandan**), descended from the four brothers Khayr al-Din*, Qabul*, Jildak, and `Abd al-Rahman*. Only part of this systematic division is reflected in the fifteenth-century document. It uses the compound phrase "devotees and master's descendants" (*bandagan* wa mawla-zadagan**) indiscriminately to refer to all the shrine attendants; at this point *mawla-zadagan** is a vague term, which might also include descendants of the early Chishti* masters. Yet one of the purposes of the document is to illustrate how Latif* al-Din*, the nephew of Burhan* al-Din* Gharib*, came to be singled out by the shaykh for certain gifts, which entitled his heirs (the *mawla-zadagan** in the later sense of the term) to a share in the revenues of the shrine.

The memorandum has the appearance of a foundation document, tracing the financial administration of the shrine to the directives of Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* himself. It begins by describing Burhan* al-Din* Gharib's* journey from Delhi to the Deccan at the command of Shaykh Nizam* al-Din* Awliya*' and his stay at Daulatabad; anachronistically, this is described as taking place in 719/1319-20 instead of 729/1329-30. A visit from his relatives twelve years after his departure from Delhi prompts him to affirm that his disciples and the children of his spiritual masters (*mawla-zadagan**) are his real relatives. Having thus shown that the Khuldabad center is Burhan* al-Din* Gharib's* real home, the author proceeds to relate, with some significant alterations, the impressive speech made by Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* in 734/1334 when he appeared to be on his deathbed; this speech was recorded in full by Rukn al-Din* Kashani* in *Nafa'is** *al-anfas**. In this speech, Burhan* al-Din* Gharib*, very concerned about observing the imminent death-anniversary (*`urs*) of his master Nizam* al-Din*, entrusted all his possessions to his disciple Kaka* Shad* Bakhsh and instructed him to distribute gifts and food to all the participants in this important ritual. This speech became the rationale for the later financial organization of the shrine, since in it Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* specifically commanded his follower to incur suitable expenses in the celebration of a saint's death-anniversary. The author has introduced changes into the text, however, to preserve Burhan* al-Din* Gharib's* reputation for absolute poverty, and he leaves out the shaykh's next words, in which he condemned the practice of accepting gifts from kings. By another skilful transition, the author has made Burhan* al-Din* Gharib's* observance of Nizam* al-Din's* death-anniversary the precedent for the later celebration of Burhan* al-Din* Gharib's* own death-anniversary in Khuldabad. Kaka* Shad* Bakhsh, we are told,

faithfully kept his master's order and also maintained other shrines in the neighborhood.

The main part of the text that follows chronicles the way in which the Bahmani * sultans became involved in supporting the shrine. The document does not mention the story, known to Firishta, that upon his coronation in 748/1347, `Ala'* al-Din* Hasan* Bahman Shah's* first action was to order a gift of five *mann* of gold and ten *mann* of silver for the shrine of Burhan* al-Din* Gharib*, in the name of Nizam* al-Din* (a *mann* is about forty pounds). This princely sum would have been an offering in gratitude for Nizam* al-Din's* prediction of Hasan's* future ascent to power.[42] Instead the text begins when Muhammad* ibn Hasan*, the second Bahmani* sultan (r. 759/1358-776/1375), came on pilgrimage to the tomb of Burhan* al-Din* Gharib*. Ascertaining from his wazir that the shrine had no current endowment from the treasury, he offered to provide it with "a daily prayer-ration" (*wazifa-i* ruzina*) of a specified amount of fruit and meat, to be paid out of the taxes normally due from the town. The accounting of the amounts and kinds of fruit and meat is so detailed that it might even satisfy the requirements of a modern internal revenue service. The large amount of food in the prayer ration (fifty pounds of meat, and twice that amount of fruit, daily) incidentally suggests a fairly large and growing population of dervishes in attendance at the shrine. The attendants then had to convey news of this gift to Burhan* al-Din* Gharib's* successor, Zayn al-Din* Shirazi*, to ask his approval. Zayn al-Din* Shirazi* made a point of determining that the gift had been unsolicited, for it was the rule of the Khuldabad Chishtis* to avoid asking for donations, and only to live on gifts that came unasked. Being satisfied that the sultan's offering fit this requirement, he approved of the gift. From the point of view of the Chishti* tradition, though, this action would be something of a departure. One-time gifts were acceptable, but regular stipends paid out of taxes would appear to come perilously close to institutional dependence. Still, the first steps had apparently been taken, just over twenty years after Burhan* al-Din* Gharib's* death.

Zayn al-Din* Shirazi* then is said to have made an even more momentous decision regarding a yearly stipend from an unnamed donor (probably the same sultan), which brought the shrine formally into relationship with the Bahmani* sultan by including him in the Sufis' prayers. Faced with a substantial income, Zayn al-Din* Shirazi* appointed Mawlana* Muhammad* Lashkari* trustee over the funds, and instructed him to distribute them among the customary recipients according to the example of Kaka* Shad* Bakhsh. He further ordered the Sufis always to feed visitors first, and to perform a series of prayers, first for Burhan* al-Din* Gharib*, then for the Chishti* masters, and finally "for the sake of the well-being of the emperor and the Muslims." At this point Zayn al-Din* Shirazi* has apparently entered into a closer relationship with royalty than any of the early Chishti* authorities would have tolerated. The author of the memorandum does not comment on this innovation, but

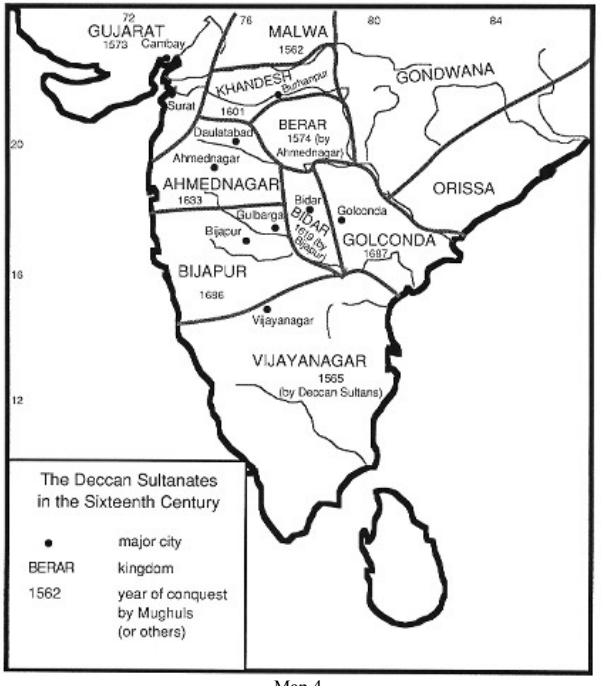
concentrates instead on describing the internal administration of the shrine by a series of trustees. The ease with which Zayn al-Din * here seems to cast off his traditional Chishti* independence for a regular income contrasts strangely with his rigorism in Islamic law. It is likely that the author of the memorandum has reinterpreted Zayn al-Din's* behavior to suit his purpose of demonstrating the authoritative origins of the shrine administration, as was done in the creative retelling of Burhan* al-Din* Gharib's* testament.

From this point onward, the text reveals a new pattern developing in the shrine's relationship with the sultan, in which some of the leading attendants visited the sultan at his coronation, bringing special gifts, and requested an increase in their stipend. Nizam* al-Din* Awliya's* order to Burhan* al-Din*, "No refusing, no asking, no saving" (*la* radd wa la* kadd wa la* madd*) seems to have been forgotten, for now they felt no hesitation whatever about asking for support. The shrine's embassy to the sultan took on the appearance of a ritual occasion, since the shrine attendants each time presented food offerings that had been blessed at the tomb (*tabarrukat**), as well as a turban for the sultan.[43] The shrine attendants in 776/1375 in this way first approached Sultan Mujahid* Shah*, who according to the historian Firishta also visited the shrine of Burhan* al-Din* after his coronation and became a disciple of Zayn al-Din* Shirazi*. A slight discrepancy unfortunately attaches to this last report, since Zayn al-Din* had died five years before the sultan's coronation.[44]

Other kings favored by this embassy were Sultan `Ala'* al-Din* Ahmad* II in or after 839/1436 (apparently during his visit to the shrine and not at his coronation), Sultan `Ala'* al-Din* Humayun* after 862/1458, Sultan Shams al-Din* Muhammad* III in 867/1463, and Sultan Shihab* al-Din* Mahmud* in 887/1482. According to a still legible inscription in the southwest comer of the *dargah** of Burhan* al-Din*, Sultan `Ala'* al-Din* Ahmad* II ordered the construction of the mosque adjacent to the shrine, completed after his death in 862/1458.[45] The trustees probably also visited the coronation of Sultan Nizam* Shah* (r. 865/1460-867/1463), since that event is mentioned in the list of names of shrine functionaries attached to the document.

It appears that whatever king was in control of the fort of Daulatabad needed to become the patron of the Khuldabad shrines, to judge from an incident that took place in 867/1462. When Sultan Mahmud* Khalji* of Malwa invaded the Deccan, and obtained the surrender of the governor of Daulatabad, one of his first acts during the few months he held the fort was to visit the shrines of Burhan* al-Din* and Zayn al-Din*, and give donations to the residents.[46]

The Bahmani* sultans regularly confirmed (but did not increase) the special individual pension awarded to the descendants of Latif* al-Din*, the nephew of Burhan* al-Din* Gharib*, to whom the saint gave a woolen cloak in his will. Given the unusual prominence of Latif* al-Din* in this document, it is possible that a member of Latif* al-Din's* family (called *mawla-zadagan** in



Map 4.
The Deccan Sultanates in the Sixteenth Century

later times) was its author. It is evident that this grant went first to Latif * al-Din's* mother, then to his son Fazl*, then to Fazl's* son Qadan, then to some unnamed relatives, then to Qadan's two sons Jalal* and Bara, and finally to Bara a second time. Tables 4 and 5 indicate the various stipends granted by the Bahmani* sultans to the shrine and to individuals.

The memorandum proper ends abruptly with the mention of the personal stipends presented by Sultan Shihab* al-Din* Mahmud* in 887/1482, but does not mention any embassy from the shrine to request an increase nor the amounts awarded to the shrine itself. To the document are attached several lists of names of government and shrine functionaries; the order does not

Table 4. Daily Stipends Given to the Khuldabad Shrines by Bahmani * Sultans

The following terms are used: *mann* (English "maund," about forty pounds), *sir** ("seer," about two pounds), *k'handi** ("candy," twenty maunds or nearly 500 pounds), *lawazima** (necessities), a revenue term of uncertain meaning that may indicate cash. The *tanka* was the basic coin of India during this period.

Sultan	*Year*	*Fruit*	*Meat*	*Other*
Muhammad* Hasan*	1358+	2.5 *mann*	1 *mann,* 10 *sir**	*lawazima**
Mujahid* Shah*	1375	7.5 *mann*	3 *mann,* 30 *sir**	*lawazima**
`Ala'* al-Din*	1436+	15 *mann*	7.5 *mann*	*lawazima**
Humayun* Shah*	1458+	1 *k'handi**, 5 *mann*	? *mann,* 25 *sir**	*lawazima**, 19 *tankas*
Muhammad* Shah*	1463			3 villages, 10 *tankas*
Mahmud* Shah*	1482	?	?	?

Table 5. Daily Personal Stipends for Family of Latif* al-Din*

Recipient	*Year*	*Fruit*	*Meat*	*Other*
Latif's* mother	1365?	1/2 *mann*	10 *sir**	no *lawazima**
Fazl* b. Latif*	1375	1/2 *mann*	10 *sir**	
Qadan b. Fazl*	1436+	1/2 *mann*	10 *sir**	no *lawazima**
Relatives	1458	1/2 *mann*	10 *sir**	
Jalal* and Bara-i Qadan	1463	1/2 *mann*	10 *sir**	no *lawazima**
Bara	1482	1/2 *mann*	10 *sir**	no *lawazima**

exactly follow the chronological order established in the main document. The first list contains the names of governors (*t'hanah-dars**), trustees (*mutawallis**), and treasury officers (*mushrifs*), grouped in threes in that order, presumably to indicate contemporaries. Then follow separate lists of the Bahmani* kings, the shrine trustees, governors, and judges (qazis*). So ends the memorandum on the history of the shrine of Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* and the Bahmanis*.

It is doubtful if there were any subsequent Bahmani* endowments of the Khuldabad shrines; as Bahmani* power declined, Daulatabad fell into the hands of Ahmad* Nizam* Shah* in 899/1493, and remained part of the new kingdom of Ahmednagar until the Mughuls captured it in 1042/1633.[47] From the presence in Khuldabad of such tombs as those of Ahmad* Nizam* Shah* Bahri* (d. 914/1508-9), Burhan* Nizam* Shah* (d. 961/1553), and the Nizam* Shahs* general Malik `Anbar (d. 1035/1626), it can be assumed that the Nizam* Shahs* stepped into the role of the Bahmanis* as principal patrons of the Khuldabad shrines. Indeed, though no record comparable to our document survives for the kings of Ahmednagar, we may suppose that Khuldabad was

even more important to the Nizamshahs * than to the Bahmanis*, for there was no other comparable place of Sufi pilgrimage within the domain of Ahmednagar; the erstwhile Bahmani* empire had other important centers of Sufism in Gulbarga, Bidar, and Bijapur. Firishta records that in 937/1530, after receiving from Bahadur* Shah* of Gujarat the royal paraphernalia of the conquered king of Malwa in ceremonies at Burhanpur, Burhan* Nizam* Shah*, stopped at Daulatabad and "paid his devotions at the shrines of the holy men buried at that place."[48] Probably he was paying tribute to the symbolic authority of Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* over the Deccan. The Nizamshahs* even maintained their symbolic connection with Khuldabad after Burhan* Nizam* Shah's* adoption of Shi`ism* in 944/1537. In accordance with Shi`i* practice, he had his father's bones sent to Kerbala in Iraq, but most of the Nizamshah* princes continued to have tombs built in Khuldabad.[49] Inscriptions at the tomb of Muntajib al-Din* in Khuldabad dated 971/1564 and 1000/1591-92 probably derive from Nizamshah* patrons.[50] Murtaza* Nizam* Shah* is said to have been "seized with religious enthusiasm" while visiting the tombs of Khuldabad in 984/1576, and he was later temporarily buried there in 996/1587 prior to his reburial in Kerbala.[51] Likewise a king of Bijapur (another Bahmani* successor-state), `Ali* Adil* Shah* I, was crowned in 1558 in the tomb of a disciple of Zayn al-Din* Shirazi*, Shams al-Din* "Shamna* Miran*," in Miraj.[52] So the patronage of Sufi shrines continued from one royal dynasty to another.

The Faruqis* of Khandesh

The Faruqi* kings of Khandesh, a small kingdom straddling the Tapti river valley between Gujarat and the Deccan, maintained that their dynasty too had been nourished and supported by the Sufis of Khuldabad; in this way they gave their rule a religious foundation. Royal historical tradition since Firishta has been unanimous in referring to the long association between the Khuldabad Sufis and the Faruqi* dynasty of Khandesh, though up to now no archival documentation of this connection had come to light.[53] The Faruqis* named their capital Burhanpur after Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* and the town of Zaynabad across the river Tapti after Zayn al-Din* Shirazi*.[54] Sufi traditions record that Burhan* al-Din* stopped at the future site of Burhanpur and prophesied its greatness. It is also said that Malik Raja* (d. 801/1399), first ruler of the Faruqi* dynasty, was a disciple of Zayn al-Din*; he is said to have founded the two cities in 772/1370.[55] These traditions will be examined more fully below (Part III, chap. 11). In a similar way, royal chronicles maintain that Nizam* al-Din* Awliya* prophesied kingship for the founder of the Bahmani* dynasty, and several other examples of this kind of prophecy exist.[56] This kind of saintly legitimation of royal power included dreams through which the sultans received advice from the Sufi, which they would dutifully relay to

their troops. [57] It is apparent that royal and saintly historiographies have crisscrossed in these cases; the task of disentangling the opposing viewpoints must now be undertaken.

When first we hear of Malik Raja* (d. 801/1399), founder of the Faruqi* dynasty, he was an ex-wazir fleeing the wrath of Muhammad* Bahman Shah* sometime after 759/1358. According to Firishta, in 772/1370 Malik Raja* received from Sultan Firuz* Shah* the district of Thalner on the Tapti River, eventually becoming independent around 784/1382 (this account is contradicted by the revenue document, which portrays Malik Raja* as a Bahmani* governor). As he and his descendants used the title *khan**, their realm became known as Khandesh ("country of the *khans**"). His claim to power derived partly from a genealogical connection with the caliph `Umar al-Faruq*, but he also invoked Sufi authority. When Firishta in 1013/1604-5 visited Khandesh, three years after the kingdom's conquest by Akbar, he was told that Malik Raja* had been a disciple of Zayn al-Din* Shirazi*, from whom he received an initiatic "robe of discipleship and successorship" (*khirqa-i iradat** *wa khilafat**). This Sufi garment was passed down from father to son, to the end of the Faruqi* dynasty over two hundred years later.[58] Strangely enough, the poet `Isami* in the epic poem *Futuh** *al-salatin** dedicated to the Bahmanis* (751/1350-51) had already described the founder of the Bahmani* kingdom as having received the robe of the Prophet Muhammad*, which had been passed down through twenty-two generations of Sufi shaykhs to Zayn al-Din* Shirazi*. Nor was this just any robe that happened to belong to the Arabian Prophet; this was regarded as the very shirt that the Prophet Muhammad* had worn on the night of his ascension to paradise.[59]

Regardless of the difficulty of establishing the authenticity of such relics, their symbolic importance as emblems of spiritual authority is clear.[60] It appears likely that both the Bahmani* and Faruqi* dynasties claimed to have an initiatic robe of the Chishti* Sufis, resembling the ceremonial robe of the caliphs as a relic of the Prophet. At his coronation, the first Bahmani* sultan also adopted the black parasol of the `Abbasi* caliphs as part of his court ritual.[61] Later, however, the second Bahmani* sultan, Muhammad* (r. 759/1358-776/1375), sent the queen mother on a state pilgrimage to Mecca, during which she obtained investiture and appropriate symbols from the `Abbasi* caliph in Egypt. According to a contemporary source, the explicit purpose of this gesture was to keep future sultans of Delhi from attempting to reconquer the Deccan.[62] The caliph notified Firuz* Shah* in Delhi that the Deccan had been properly awarded to the Bahmanis*, so Firuz* Shah*, eager to retain his own caliphal investiture, never troubled the Bahmanis*. For all the pious posturing, though, caliphal symbolism was only useful as a support for kingship. Both royal robes have shaky pedigrees if they are supposed to be the robe of Zayn al-Din*; the visitor to Zayn al-Din's* shrine may still see displayed at the annual *`urs* festival the robe of the Prophet's ascension, which was

handed down in the Chishti * order to Zayn al-Din*.[63] The story of this initiatic robe has been enlarged by the author of the hagiography *Fath* al-awliya**, the description of which follows. In this account, the entire Chishti* hierarchy since `Usman* Harwani* (d. 607/1211) had been foretelling the transmission of this robe to Zayn al-Din*, who thus takes on a great importance as the only legitimate heir of the Chishtis*.[64]

The stories of Sufis foretelling the coronations of founders of dynasties are as curious for their prominence in the works of dynastic historians, as they are suspicious for their absence from the writings of contemporary Sufis. As an example, one of the most important later historical sources for this region is an anonymous author's collection of biographies of Deccan Sufis, *Fath* al-awliya**. This was written in Burhanpur in 1030/1620 and is now preserved in an apparently unique manuscript at Khuldabad. The testimony of *Fath* al-awliya** is especially significant for the political and symbolic importance that the Mughuls placed on patronage of Sufism, both in their endowments of shrines and in their patronage of biographical works on saints. The Mughul policy toward Khuldabad (more fully documented below, Part III, chap. 10) was implicitly a continuation of the Faruqi* position, since the Mughuls completely appropriated the Faruqi* historiography after their conquest of Khandesh in 1009/1601. The book begins with a eulogy of Jahangir*, quotes the old Sasanian* adage that "religion and politics are twins" (*al-din* wal-mulk tu'aman**), piously expresses thanks to God for the beneficent dynasty ruling Hindustan (i.e., northern India), and concludes with a prayer for the expansion of Jahangir's* realm to include the entire inhabited world.[65] After another eulogy devoted to the Deccan governor `Abd al-Rahim* Khan-i* Khanan*, the book then gives the biographies of five Sufis of Khuldabad, followed by the lives of twenty-one Sufis of Burhanpur.[66] The pivotal figure in the book is the first, Burhan* al-Din* Gharib*. *Fath* al-awliya** escribes him as "the master of the entire dominion (*vilayat**) of the Deccan" according to the order of the supreme Chishti* authority, Nizam* al-Din* Awliya* of Delhi. Burhan* al-Din's* position in the Deccan is then unsurpassable, for "one to whom Nizam* al-Din* gives dominion holds it safely until the Resurrection."[67] The conjunction of Burhan* al-Din*, his Khuldabad successors, and the mystics of the city that bore his name, invokes his authority over the Deccan even as it seeks to advance Mughul claims to sovereignty.

The symbols of legitimacy were doubly important in the first decades of the seventeenth century as the Mughuls planned to expand into the Deccan. In the midst of this political crisis, the author of the *Fath* al-awliya'** ells us that he commenced the book in Burhanpur at the order of `Abd al-Rahim* Khan-i* Khanan* on 9 Muharram* 1030/December 1620. The book was compiled with the aid of Jalal* al-Din* Shah* Nu`mani*, an aged member of a Burhanpur Sufi family and an expert on local traditions, who had joined the entourage of Khan-i* Khanan*. The biographical accounts of the Sufis have frequent refer-

ences to their interaction with the Faruqi * rulers in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Some of the accounts of earlier Sufis are copied directly out of Firishta's appendix on saints. Strangely, the author fails to mention that the Ahmednagar general Malik `Anbar had recently defeated the Mughul forces and was actually besieging Burhanpur at the very moment when he commenced writing the book.[68] The author's praise of Mughul power and the eminence of the Deccan governor, Khan-i* Khanan*, appears to be wishful braggadocio, written while Deccani soldiers were surrounding the city. It is comparable to the fantasy painting commissioned by Jahangir*, showing him in the act of shooting an arrow at the head of Malik `Anbar (Figure 15); unfortunately for Jahangir*, Malik `Anbar and the Deccan were not to be so easily dealt with. *Fath* al-awliya** has a curious political significance. Its ornate rhyming prose and florid expression belie the undertone of urgency that the author must have experienced under these threatening conditions. `Abd al-Rahim* Khan-i* Khanan* evidently felt that commissioning a hagiography was an important enough task to claim his attention, even in the midst of a siege. By dedicating this work to the saints, he hoped for their assistance in securing the victory hinted at by the book's title. His commission created a work that skilfully weaves the Faruqi* traditions into a new pattern that would support Mughul claims to legitimacy in the context of Jahangir's* expansion into the Deccan.

The fifteenth-century financial document just described offers an opportunity to measure the Faruqi* imperialist historiography of *Fath* al-awliya** against the rival Bahmani* version. It furnishes evidence that Malik Raja* was associated with the Khuldabad shrines when he was Bahmani* governor of Daulatabad (ca. 772/1370-1 to 784/1382-83); during that period he confirmed the shrine's chief trustee. The traditions about Zayn al-Din* blessing the Faruqi* foundation of Burhanpur and Zaynabad are evidently anachronistic political reconstructions, but one of the Faruqi* kings (either Malik Raja* or Nasir* Khan*) undoubtedly had some connection with the Khuldabad Sufis and made a substantial land endowment to the Khuldabad shrines; this land endowment continued up to the fall of the dynasty in 1009/1601, when the Mughuls took it over and perpetuated it.

The stories detailing the connection of the Khuldabad Sufis with the founding of the cities of Khandesh have many significant inconsistencies. Though the Faruqis* were clearly followers of Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* and Zayn al-Din* Shirazi*, the Faruqis* themselves must have worked out at a later date the association of the two saints with the cities named after them. Firishta, followed closely by *Fath* al-awliya**, first told the story that the Faruqi* ruler Nasir* Khan*' (d. 1437) became a devoted follower of the Chishtis* through Zayn al-Din*, an intriguing notion, since Zayn al-Din* died thirty years before Nasir* Khan* became king. The whole story is suspicious, since it shows Zayn al-Din* in an uncharacteristically servile role, rushing to congratulate the king on his

conquest of the fortress of Asir * (this great victory, incidentally, was achieved by smuggling warriors into the fortress dressed as women). Here is a summary of the story as told by Firishta and *Fath* al-awliya** [69] After Nasir* Khan's* conquest of Asir, Zayn al-Din* came from Daulatabad to congratulate him. All the king's retinue came to meet the saint, and the king invited Zayn al-Din* to cross the river Tapti, at the future site of Zaynabad, and visit the fort. The shaykh declined, saying his master had not given him permission to cross the river, so the king moved his camp across the river to join Zayn al-Din*; this site would later become Burhanpur. The king visited Zayn al-Din* twice a day (or five times, according to Firishta), eventually becoming a fully initiated disciple of Burhan* al-Din* through Zayn al-Din* Shirazi*. At this point, Zayn al-Din* announced, "I have included your offspring, until the Resurrection, in the fruits of allegiance to me, and have accepted them as disciples" (the initiation of the king and the entire Faruqi* dynasty occurs only in *Fath* al-Awliya**). A couple of weeks later, when Zayn al-Din* announced his intention of returning to Daulatabad, the king proposed to donate the income from a village district from his kingdom for the upkeep of the shrines of Khuldabad. Nonetheless, Zayn al-Din* parried the offer in typical Chishti* style, replying, "What do dervishes have to do with villages and districts?" When the king repeated his offer, Zayn al-Din* again obliquely declined:

> We are in this region of happy name, on that river bank that was the stopping-place of the Sultan and the holy warriors (*ghaziyan**) of Islam. When you have built a city in the name of Shaykh Burhan* al-Din*, filled with mosques and minbars, make it your capital. And on this river bank where I and the dervishes have come, let them construct a town and a mosque and call it Zaynabad, so that by this means, when the sign of Islam has become current in these two pieces of land, the name of this dervish will become known in this region.[70]

Here ends the account of Firishta. The whole thrust of this account is to demonstrate that the Sufis of Khuldabad not only blessed, but even ordered, the foundation of the capital cities of Khandesh.[71] The historiography behind the story stands in tension with Sufi traditions about Zayn al-Din*. The part about Zayn al-Din* being forbidden to cross the Tapti is nonsense, because he went on pilgrimage to the Chishti* shrines of Delhi, Pakpattan, and Ajmer in 747/1346-47.[72] The use of phrases like "the holy warriors of Islam" and "the sign of Islam" belongs to the propagandistic use of Islam in royal chronicles, and is not typical of Sufi texts (above, Part II, chap. 8). This strategy fits in with the Faruqis* other main attempt at grounding themselves in an Islamic religious identity, by using the name "Faruqi*" to assert that they were descended from the Caliph `Umar.[73]

The Faruqis * did have an early connection with the Khuldabad shrines, consisting of an endowment of the shrines with land income, and perhaps a relationship of discipleship, but they wanted more than that; they wanted to show that their reign was firmly based on the authority of the most eminent Muslim religious figure in the Deccan. So the Faruqis*, or their apologists, traced the origin of their historical endowment to the story of the foundation of Burhanpur. *Fath* al-awliya** added the following postscript to Firishta's story: after Zayn al-Din* blessed the future cities' sites and departed, the king designated the villages of Bhadgaon and Kandalah for the maintenance of the *faqirs** residing at the Khuldabad shrines—despite the shaykh's repeated refusal to accept them. It was further maintained that the tax yield from those villages remained an uninterrupted bequest for the shrines from that day forward, a point that the Sufi biographer Muhammad* Ghawsi* Mandawi* also made in 1020/1611-12.[74] Since both Ghawsi* and *Fath* al-awliya** base their accounts on traditions current in Burhanpur, we must assume that the Faruqis* had insisted that their donation was nothing but the proper response to the saintly blessing that ensured their dominion "until the Resurrection." It cannot be doubted that at some point the Faruqis* settled the revenue from several towns of Khandesh as an income for the Khuldabad shrines; Mughul farmans of Akbar and Jahangir* perpetuated the Faruqi* endowment, including the Khandesh town of Bhadgaon mentioned in *Fath* al-awliya**.[75] Nasir* Khan* Faruqi* was known for his generous donations to the religious classes[76] and both political and Sufi historical sources agree that he founded the cities.[77] But the mention of his bequest in connection with the story of the founding of the two cities is gratuitous, and serves only to create the illusion that his royal authority has a religious foundation; the king's donation, ingeniously, had become proof of the dynasty's sacred origin.

Turning away from the Faruqis'* apocryphal foundation story, we may now examine one more conflict between royal and saintly historiographies, regarding the quarrel between Zayn al-Din* Shirazi* and Muhammad* Shah* Bahmani*. Zayn al-Din* was apparently willing to defy the Bahmani* Sultan in political matters. The shaykh had aroused Muhammad* Shah* Bahmani's* wrath by receiving and aiding the fleeing Malik Raja* Faruqi* sometime after 759/1358, when the latter had become an ally of the rebel governor of Daulatabad, Bahram* Khan* Mazandarani*.[78] The charm of the story makes it worth describing in detail, in order to make clear the differences between the version of Firishta and the account in the discourses of Zayn al-Din* Shirazi* himself.

According to Firishta, when Muhammad* Shah* Bahmani* prepared to besiege the rebels in Daulatabad, they fled to Zayn al-Din* for advice, and he counseled them not to resist, but to flee to Gujarat. Due to the king's indulgence in wine-drinking and other practices contrary to Islamic law, Zayn al-Din* had been the only Sufi to refuse to swear allegiance to Sultan Muham*-

mad at his coronation, and now the sultan was enraged at this new evidence of the shaykh's insubordination. He sent for the shaykh and meant to force him to sign a statement of allegiance. In response to the summons, Zayn al-Din * told the story of a sayyid, a scholar, and a hermaphrodite who were captured by infidels and offered the choice of bowing down to an idol or death. The scholar argued that sins committed under duress are excused, and so he bowed down before the idol. The sayyid did not wish to refute this logic, and was moreover hopeful of the intercession of the Prophet and the imams on judgment day, so he too bowed down. The hermaphrodite alone refused to bow before the idol, saying his life was full of nothing but sin and error, so he could only hope for God's forgiveness if he remained true to the Muslim confession of faith, that there is no god but God. Zayn al-Din* said he was like that hermaphrodite or worse, and could not come to court or swear his allegiance to the sultan.

The sultan was further incensed at this new impertinence, and sent for the shaykh again, to be brought by force if necessary. This time Zayn al-Din* crossed the street to the threshold of Burhan* al-Din* Gharib's* tomb, put down his prayer carpet, and said, "Where is the man who will take me away from here?" At this point the king relented, and sought a reconciliation, eventually agreeing to observe the prohibition of liquor, so that the two were on good terms at last. In recognition of the sultan's willingness to implement Islamic law, the saint addressed him by the title *ghazi** or holy warrior (in an ethical sense), and Sultan Muhammad* was so delighted that he used that title from that time forth.[79] Whether Sultan Muhammad's* donation of a daily prayer ration to the Khuldabad shrines took place or not, in either case Zayn al-Din* emerges from this account as a man of principle, unmoved by the whims of the sultan.

The version of the story in Zayn al-Din's* discourses has a very different flavor. Beginning with the statement that "God loves our masters all the time," the shaykh related the following, as recorded by Mir* Hasan*:

> Inasmuch as Sultan Muhammad* Bahman came to Deogir regarding the affair of Bahram* Khan*, he sent his private chamberlain, saying, "Bring Shaykh Zayn al-Din* to me!" Then he sent the qazi* of the town, but in no way did they bring the shaykh. "But if he does not come, let him confirm my vice-gerency (*khilafat**) and write his signature to it."[80]

Although the manuscript is badly damaged at this point, it is clear that Zayn al-Din* then related the story of the wise man, the sayyid, and the hermaphrodite. The story continues, unfortunately in a fragmentary form:

> Then the qazi* sent a decree that the sultan had said, "If the shaykh does not come, he must not stay in my city." The revered master put his prayer carpet on his shoulder and went towards the shrine [of

> Burhan * al-Din* Gharib*]. The sultan again spoke and sent [a message:] "Beware, let him not go to that side." Then the revered master remained in the shrine.... Sultan Muhammad* Bahman by means of the sayyid ... [several lines of fragmentary Persian verses] ... [The Sulta]n spoke and by means of the sayyid spoke and sent [a message].[81]

That is the end of the story. It is worth noticing what is not mentioned in this version. There is no apparent reference in the Sufi story to the king enforcing prohibition of alcohol in the kingdom, nor to the Sufi addressing the sultan as a *ghazi**. The royal version ends by having the Sufi legitimize the authority of the king, though the Sufi felt no need to mention this in the *malfuzat**; Zayn al-Din's* own story suggests that the opposition between him and the sultan remained unresolved. The moral of his story was to demonstrate that God loves the saints, not to show that the saints love the kings.

A popular legend of Khuldabad illustrates the poignancy of the transition from traditional Sufi poverty to the more prosaic status of an institution supported by state pension. It is related that "a few hundred years" after the death of Burhan* al-Din* Gharib*, the attendants of his shrine found themselves in great distress, so that they were very near to death from starvation. After they appealed to the influence of the saint, they received consolation in a dream. The following day they found that four or five *tolas* of pure silver had sprouted from the ground right in front of the saint's tomb.[82] They broke up the silver and used it to ward off starvation and to maintain the shrine. The remains of the silver in the pavement are still pointed out to the visitor even today.[83] It might be suggested that this story illustrates the later feeling of nostalgia for the greater purity of the early Chishti* masters. It had been their custom then to live only on the daily unsolicited donations of the pious, and then to distribute to the poor all that remained at the end of the day. The life of poverty, relying on the divine beneficence for sustenance and taking no thought for the morrow, must have appeared truly miraculous to those later attendants, who had come to rely on the benevolence of kings as relayed through a feudalistic administration.

Unfortunately, no documentation is available on the later Faruqi* bequests to Khuldabad, such as the Bahmani* document provides. But since the traditions connecting Burhan* al-Din* and Zayn al-Din* to Burhanpur were still strong even after the fall of the Faruqis*, we can assume that this religious connection continued to be expressed through the Faruqi* financial support of the shrines throughout their reign. But this connection between the later Faruqis* and the Khuldabad Chishtis* would appear to be borne out by the claim of the Nawwabs* of Arcot (a principality in the Tamil country) to be connected with the Faruqis*. The first Nawwab*, Anwar* al-Din* Khan* (d. 1162/1749), kept a Faruqi* pretender under his protection and adopted the latter into his family;

by a sort of reciprocal adoption, his official biography seems in this way to regard Anwar * al-Din* Khan* as a descendant (via the Faruqis*) of the caliph `Umar al-Faruq.*[84] The Nawwab* also maintained the Faruqi* tradition of patronage of the Chishti* order in the Deccan, so that he was known as "the lover of dervishes."[85]

The political link between Sufis and sultans in the case of Khuldabad was strong indeed. The presence of the attendants of Burhan* al-Din's* shrine at the Bahmani* coronations, and their presentation of a turban to the sultan, suggests that the recognition of the sultan's authority was in some sense dependent on the saint's acknowledgment, and the sultans showed their gratitude for this service over the years by increasing their gifts to the Sufi establishment. A kind of quid pro quo evidently took place in 867/1463 at the Bahmani* capital of Bidar, when the shrine attendants offered to include the sultan in their prayers at the five ritual prayer times; the sultan responded by endowing the shrine with the income from three villages as well as other girls. In this relationship, the sultans obtained the efficacy of prayers at holy shrines and public recognition as friends of the saints, while the shrine attendants became ever more drawn into financial administration and the problems of landlords.

A similar situation obtained in the kingdom of Khandesh, where the Faruqi* dynasty based its claim to political dominion on the spiritual authority of Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* and his successor Zayn al-Din* Shirazi*. Malik Raja* and Nasir* Khan* Faruqi* were also followers of the Khuldabad Sufis, and when the latter built the city of Burhanpur, he created the myth that the Sufis gave his dynasty its origin; at the same time he enrolled his descendants under the saint's protection "until the Resurrection." The Faruqis* also showed their seriousness by settling the income from two villages on the shrine, making this very donation, which was after all a modest return for a kingdom, the proof of divine favor. Toward the end of the period covered by the document, the sultan of Malwa fleetingly obtained control over Daulatabad and tried to cement his rule with gifts to the shrines, while the Nizamshah* dynasty of Ahmednagar eventually took over from the Bahmanis* the role of protectors of Khuldabad, as their numerous mausolea attest. All these dynasties sought from the Khuldabad Sufis an everlasting dominion over the Deccan, which they tried to insure by their donations.

The Mughuls and Nizams

When the Timuri* or Mughul (Mongol) dynasty came to power in northern India in the sixteenth century, they as much as their predecessors kept in mind the dependence of political power on religious legitimation. The emperor Jahangir* called the Sufi pensioners "the army of prayer." The Khuldabad shrines received ample endowments from the Mughuls, which are detailed in

a series of revenue documents still preserved at the shrines. When compared with standard histories and Sufi biographical works, these documents reveal once again the political importance of the royal patronage of Sufism as a device by which rulers borrowed legitimacy from religious institutions.

The tombs of the two brothers Burhan * al-Din* and Muntajib al-Din* Zar Zari* Zar-bakhsh in recent times have formed a single joint institution, known as the "Greater Dargah* Society" (*dargah-i* hadd-i* kalan**). The other main shrine institution in Khuldabad is the "Lesser Dargah* Society" (*dargah-i* hadd-i* khurd*), which oversees the tomb of Zayn al-Din* Shirazi*, Sayyid Shah* Yusuf* al-Husayni* "Raju* Qattal*" (d. 1331), and some related shrines. The two societies appear to have been formed under the Nizams, since the shrines of Burhan* al-Din*, Muntajibal-Din*, and Zayn al-Din* were administered as a single unit during Mughul times. Papers in the collection of Mr. Fariduddin Saleem of Khuldabad, president of the Greater Dargah* Society, document the history of both sets of shrines. The collection of fifteen documents covers a period from 1605 to the early 1800s, and comprises a continuous record of Mughul policy toward these shrines, with documents from every emperor from Akbar to Bahadur* Shah*, as well as from the Nizams of Hyderabad. Comparison with other private collections of Mughul revenue documents reveals that the Khuldabad collection is unusually complete and must be regarded as one of the most significant of its kind.

These documents are mostly *farmans** (royal decrees announcing an official policy) that record the shrine revenues by granting to the client the crown's right to collect taxes on specified lands. It is clear from the two earliest documents in the Khuldabad collection that Mughul patronage of the Khuldabad shrines directly perpetuated the Faruqi* endowment. Akbar had conquered the kingdom of Khandesh in 1601, when he captured the fortress of Asir. His son Daniyal* was governor of the Deccan at Burhanpur until his demise in 1605. It was shortly after this that Akbar issued his *farman**, endowing the shrines with the income of villages in the districts of Bhadgaon, Busawal, and Adilabad, all towns in Khandesh. Since Bhadgaon was one of the towns named in Nasir* Khan* Faruqi's* original endowment of 1432 (as reported by *Fath* al-awliya**), we must assume that Akbar merely approved and continued the same arrangement that obtained under the last of the Faruqis*, nearly two centuries after its inception. Such is the testimony of Muhammad* Ghawsi* Mandawi* and *Fath* al-awliya**, as noted above. According to Jahangir's* *farman** of 1626, Akbar's endowment consisted of an actual yield (*hasil**) of 1,250,000 *dams** (equivalent to 31,250 silver rupees). Jahangir* retained Bhadgaon as the source of the shrine's income, but reduced it in value to an estimated total worth (*jam` raqmi**) of 122,400 *dams**, or 3,060 silver rupees. This is in fact an even greater reduction than it appears, since the actual revenue would always be much less than the estimated total worth.

The Mughuls supported the Khuldabad shrines as an extension of their

plan for conquest of the Deccan. Akbar, after his victory over the Faruqis *, would probably have continued his campaigns against the Deccan kingdoms, but had to return to the north to deal with Prince Salim's* rebellion. During Jahangir's* reign, Mughul ambitions were frustrated by the tireless Abyssinian general Malik `Anbar, who successfully routed the expeditions that Jahangir* sent against the Nizamshahs* of Ahmednagar. Mughul patronage of the Khuldabad shrines was doubtless meant to undermine the authority of the Nizamshahs* of Ahmednagar, by claiming to inherit the role of the Faruqis* as patrons of Khuldabad. An ostentatious display of generosity to the chief spiritual center of the region would thus lend an air of legitimacy to Mughul claims, and would be doubly effective as a provocative intrusion into the heart of the Nizamshahs'* territory.

We have already seen the disturbed conditions that led to the commissioning of *Fath* al-awliya** in 1030/1620. The following year, Prince Shahjahn* managed to bring down a new Mughul army and retaliate by sacking the Nizamshahs'* new capital of Khirki (later known as Aurangabad), only a few miles from Khuldabad. During this period, when the issue was still in doubt, Akbar's generous stipend to the Khuldabad Sufis remained in effect (it is interesting to note that the last of the Faruqis*, Bahadur* Shah*, would continue to live in Mughul custody in Agra until his death in 1033/1623-24). After Malik `Anbar's submission, the Deccan witnessed Shahjahan's* own rebellion against Jahangir*, while in the north Mahabat* Khan's* coup took place.[86] But the increasing weakness of the Nizamshahs* finally permitted Jahangir*, from his house arrest during Mahabat* Khan's* ascendancy, to reduce the Khuldabad endowment to a fraction of its former size in 1626 (A2). Nevertheless, the trustees of the shrine were expected to "pray for the welfare of the conquering dynasty." Both the Mughuls and the Nizamshahs* realized that these spiritual centers played an important role in establishing political legitimacy.

The later *farmans** likewise reflect the varying political and economic conditions of their times. Shahjahan's* bequest of 1635 (A3), for example, recognizes the incorporation of the former Nizamshah* possessions into his empire and transfers the source of the shrines' revenue from Khandesh to Daulatabad. He thus abandons the traditional Faruqi* endowment for a local source coming under the new Mughul administration of the Deccan. In addition, the currency used in the next few documents (A3-A5) changes from the copper-based *dam** of Hindustan to the gold-based *hun** of the Deccan (usually reckoned as the equivalent of 3.5 rupees). The declining amounts of these grants also reflect a more realistic appraisal of the economic conditions of the country. Shahjahan's* initial endowment of 1635, combined with an additional sum suggested by the Deccan governor Khan-i* Zaman*, totals 10,345.5 *huns** or 36,209.25 rupees, which reverses Jahangir's* drastic reduction, and even raises the sum significantly beyond its value under Akbar. By 1638, however, the value of the endowment has again been reduced to 3500 *huns** or 12,250

Table 6. Summaries of Mughul and Deccan Revenue Documents (from Appendix C)

The following terms are used: the abbreviation Rs. stands for the silver rupee of northern India; the *dam** is a copper coin, one-fortieth of a rupee; the *hun** (called "pagoda" by Europeans) is a gold coin of the Deccan worth 3.5 rupees; the *bigha** is a Mughul land measurement of about five-eighths of an acre; the *chawar** is a Maratha land measurement, equivalent to 120 *bighas**. "Actual revenue" (*hasil**) is the amount of income the government expected to realize in taxes on a given portion of land, while "estimated total worth" *(jam`-i raqmi**) (abbreviated "est.") was a customary evaluation of total value worth many times the actual revenue. All figures are for annual income.

A. *Dargahs** of Shaykh Burhan* al-Din* Gharib*, Shaykh Muntajib al-Din*, and Shaykh Zayn al-Din*

No.	*Year*	*Reign*	*Endowed Land*	*Value/Action*
A1	1014/1605	Akbar	Bhadgaon + 2 Villages	1,250,000 *dams** (actual) = Rs. 31,250
A2	1035/1626	Jahangir*	2 villages in Bhadgaon	122,400 *dams** (est.) = Rs. 3060 (actual)
A3	1046/1636	Shahjahan*	Daulatabad	6845.5 + 3500 *huns** = Rs. 36,209.25
A4	1047/1637	Shahjahan*	Sara (Daulatabad)	Confirmation of trustees
A5	1047/1638	Shahjahan*	Daulatabad villages	3500 *huns** (actual) = Rs. 12,250
A6	1080/1669	Awrangzib*	Sara (Daulatabad)	Rs. 741
A7	l101/1690	Awrangzib*	Payan	Confirmation of recipient
A8	1121/1709	Bahadur* Shah*	Sara (Daulatabad)	74,106 *dams** (est.) = Rs. 1175 (actual)
A9	1122/1710	Bahadur* Shah*	Bursar Khurd	110,300 *dams** (est.) = Rs. 1378 (actual)

B. *Dargah** of Sayyid Yusuf* al-Husayni* Raju* Qattal*

No.	*Year*	*Reign*	*Endowed land*	*Value/Action*
B1	1046/1636	Shahjahan*	Sultanpur	3 (down from 7) *chawars** = 360 *bighas**
B2	1238/1823	Sikandar Jah*	Bumiya (Daulatabad)	Rs. 1095 (actual)
B3	1242/1827	[Sikandar Jah*]	———	Confirmation of recipient by Gulbarga shrines

(*continued*)

Table 6. (*Continued*)

C. Other Grants

No.	*Year*	*Reign*	*Endowed Land*	*Value/Action*
C1	1094/1683	Awrangzib *	Sultanpur	30 *bighas** for a brother and 3 sisters
C2	1122/1710	Bahadur* Shah*	Sultanpur villages	282,067 *dams** = Rs. 3249 (actual) for *dargahs** of Khwaja* Husayn* and Khwaja* `Umar
C3	1256/1840	Tribhavan* Das*	———	Rs. 60 for *dargah** *of Jalal** *Ganj-i Ravan**

rupees (A5). Revenues from the war-torn Deccan eventually dwindled from fifty million to ten million rupees between 1636 and 1652. It was probably Awrangzib*, governor of the Deccan since July 14, 1636, who reduced these benefices as an economy measure during a deficit period. Though the Deccan was returning to normal, Shahjahan* now insisted that Awrangzib* meet administrative expenses with local revenue without benefit of funds from the north.[87] Nonetheless, the Mughuls continued to make substantial gifts to the Khuldabad shrines at various times. Shahjahan* arranged the magnificent sum of one thousand gold *muhrs* (equivalent to 14,000 rupees) for the "truth-seekers" (*ahl-i istihqaq**) of Burhanpur and Daulatabad in 1049/1640.[88] An archival source states that Awrangzib* made a personal donation of 500 rupees to the greater *dargah** in Rajab 1047/November 1637, and he continued to be a frequent visitor to the shrines in the 1650s.[89] Awrangzib's* brother and unsuccessful rival, Dara* Shikuh*, also paid a visit to the shrine of Burhan* al-Din* sometime before 1049/1640, as he recorded in his biographical work *Safinat** *al-awliya**, and it is quite likely he made some donation also.[90] Awrangzib's* *farman** of 1669 (A6), however, reveals the startling decline in Deccan revenues due to the interminable warfare of the late seventeenth century. Despite the administrative reforms of Murshid Quli* Khan* under Awrangzib's* administration in the 1650s,[91] the campaigns against Golconda and Bijapur, and the war of succession, had been a continuing drain on the Deccan treasury. It is otherwise difficult to explain Awrangzib's* reduction of the endowment to 741 rupees. Awrangzib* continued to remember the shrines in his *farman** of 1691 (A7), and would be buried in an unmarked tomb outside the shrine of Zayn al-Din* in 1707 (discussed below). The later bequests of Bahadur* Shah* in 1709-10 (A8-9, C2) only confirm the reports of his uncritical generosity. Though the economic situation of India was by now far worse than fifty years previously, he actually raised the amount of revenue for the larger *dargah** from

1,175 to 1,378 rupees, and settled a revenue property worth 3,249 rupees on the smaller *dargah* *.

After the critical period of Mughul expansion in the Deccan, the Sufi shrines would no longer be counters in such a dramatic political contest, but they continued to play a symbolic role of legitimating temporal power for a considerable time. For example, the small stipend donated by a minor Hindu raja in 1834 (C3) is an interesting tribute to the influence wielded by Sufi shrines across religious lines. More importantly, the nineteenth-century endowments by the Nizams of Hyderabad, several of whom were buried in Khuldabad, further indicate the continuing importance of this sacred center. Sikandar Jah's* *farman** of 1823 (B2), awarding 3 rupees daily to Shah* Raju* Qattal's* shrine, amounts to 1,095 rupees annually; even allowing for inflation, this sum indicates a commitment comparable to that shown by the Mughul rulers.

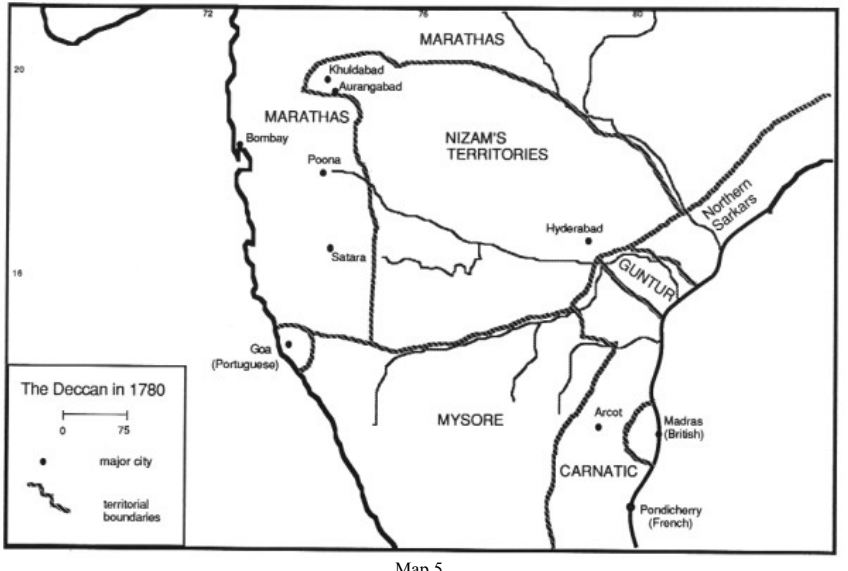
In 1849, it was reported that 8.4 percent of the land in the Daulatabad district was untaxed *in`am** endowment, and that most of the holders of these lands encouraged good farming.[92] The Nizams similarly patronized the greater *dargah**, though no revenue documents for this connection survive in the Khuldabad collection. Two of the documents (A7, C2) have notations in English, evidently made by some nineteenth-century British officer in the Nizam's administration. Rawnaq `Ali*, a member of the Nizam's administration, reported that in 1310/1892, the greater *dargah** were receiving "from some old towns" an unspecified endowment income twice the size of that given to the lesser *dargah**, while the shrine of Ganj-i Ravan* had an income from the towns of Soli Bachan and Nadirabad. The Nizam declared these incomes free of all duty in 1333/1914-15. By 1931, there were over seven hundred attendants (*khuddam**) attached to the greater *dargah**, over four hundred attached to the lesser *dargah**, and one hundred fifty attached to the shrine of Ganj-i Ravan*; three hundred students were supported by the Nizam's donations, as were charitable kitchens at the tombs of Awrangzb* and the first two Nizams. Growing prosperity in the twentieth century is evident from the annual revenue of Rs. 43,000 from crown land in Sara. According to the Mughul documents, this property was earmarked for the greater dargah from the early 1700s and was continued by the Nizams.[93] After the collapse of the Hyderabad state, the income for the shrines is now negligible, however, but even in the post-1952 period these religious endowments are still theoretically effective.[94] Thus the shadow of the old political patronage of sacred shrines survives.

Though most of these documents record grants of patronage, some of them also mediated disputes over the control of shrine revenues. Disputes between the heirs of the original clients and the boards of trustees appointed to oversee the operations of the shrines have been endemic to the Islamic charitable trusts system, and still require administrative correction.[95] The patron

would be in a position to settle these disputes decisively in a manner conducive to his interests. Akbar's *farman* * (A1) sides with the hereditary chief custodian, or "owner of the prayer-carpet" (*sahib-i* sajjada*), and excludes the trustees (*mutawalliyan**) from the shrine income. This position was reversed twenty years later, when Jahangir* not only reduced the shrine's revenue drastically but also entrusted it to the attendants (*khadiman**). It is tempting to speculate that this dispute may have had relevance to Mughul imperialism in the Deccan, but it is impossible to know without having further evidence on the participants. Other problems attested in the documents include a rivalry between two factions within the greater dargah* society over income attached to a subsidiary shrine (A7). The case of Hafiz* `Abd al-Shakur* of tfhe lesser dargah* society suggests the decay of political power in the Deccan. In 1823 he received a grant from the Nizam, but had to be confirmed in his position four years later by the hereditary custodians of Sufi shrines in Gulbarga (B2, B3). It is remarkable that this man had to be confirmed by other Sufi shrines; state authority must have been too weak to achieve this resolution.

The juxtaposition of royal tombs alongside Sufi shrines is a phenomenon that parallels the overlay of royal historiography upon hagiography. Royal mausolea in India waver between maintaining splendid isolation and seeking the protection of saintly holiness. Religious and political motives always overlapped, however, in the configuration of a royal tomb. From an architectural perspective, it might be more correct to describe such tombs as mosques with funerary functions, since the tombs invariably have an orientation to the direction of Mecca, and larger mausolea almost always feature a *qibla* niche in the appropriate wall.[96] Some, as in the case of the principal Mughul tombs, were designed as independent structures where perpetual endowments would theoretically ensure that constant prayers were said for the departed monarch's soul. Most of the isolated royal tombs in India are dependent now for their upkeep on the meagre resources of the Archeological Survey, and with the exception of popular tourist attractions like the Taj Mahal, the majority are in a state of complete disrepair. Others, by their location adjacent to or within the precincts of a Sufi shrine, testify to a desire to share in the sanctity of the saints, and perhaps to cement the relationship between the dynasty and the saints. These tombs have fared better for the most part, since they tend to receive care approximating to that lavished on Sufi tombs by devotees. Already by the fourteenth century there had been a tendency for kings to encourage a cult of royal tombs, identifying early members of their lines as saints and martyrs (above, Part II, chap. 6). One suspects that the kings who built their tombs alongside the saints were hedging their bets, anticipating that future generations would generously include them in their devotions.

The process of sanctification of royal tombs, by proximity as it were, is abundantly demonstrated in Khuldabad. Although there are dozens of unidentified tombs scattered throughout the valley, quite a number of tombs within



Map 5.
The Deccan in 1780

the shrines are identified, of which the following are the most important (see also Table 3 and Map 1). The first Nizam, Nizam * al-Mulk Asaf* Jah* (d. 1161/1748), was closely attached to the Chishtis*, and even wrote a biography of a contemporary shaykh, Nizam* al-Din* Awrangabadi* (d. 1142/1729).[97] He considered patronage of Sufi saints an important state duty, and stressed this point in his testament to his successor. Both the first Nizam and his successor, Nizam* al-Dawla Nasir* Jang (d. 1164/1750), were buried along with their wives in separate red sandstone enclosures next to the tomb of Burban* al-Din* Gharib* (see Figure 6).[98] Nizam* al-Mulk had died near Burhanpur, and after his funeral, his son appropriated revenues from the nearby towns of Bhadgaon and Pipalgaon for his death-anniversary (*`urs*) expenses, for sandalwood and roses.[99] The Nizam's choice of Bhadgaon as a source of revenue is striking, since under the Faruqi* and early Mughul endowments, Bhadgaon was the source of revenue for the Sufi shrines of Khuldabad. The third Nizam, Muzaffar* Jang (d. 1751), is buried just south of Burhan* al-Din's* tomb, along with figures such as his uncle Mutawassil* Khan*, `Iwaz* Khan* (d. 1143/1730-31), Jamal* al-Din* Khan* (d. 1159/1746), and others.[100] Other notables are buried in the complex of Yusuf* al-Husayni* Raju* Qattal*: Nawwab* Marhamat* Khan*, a governor of Aurangabad; Da'ud* Khan* (d. 1127/1715), a governor of Burhanpur; and Abu* al-Hasan* Tana* Shah* (d. 1111/1699), the last Qutbshahi* king of Golconda, who was imprisoned in the Daulatabad fort until his death.[101] Most of the archeological maintenance budget expended by the Nizam's government in Khuldabad seems to have been directed at repairing the tombs of just these kings and nobles. [102]

Malik `Anbar, the great general of Ahmadnagar who was buried at Khuldabad, was not known for his sanctity during his lifetime. But the process of partial sanctification may be observed in his case as well, since he, his wife Siddi* Karima*, and his grandson Siddi* `Abd al-`Rahman* all have impressive tombs at Khuldabad (see Figures 13, 14, 16). `Abd Allah* Habib* al-`Aydarus* (d. 1631), a Sufi and scholar from southern Arabia, was a friend of Malik `Anbar, and also resided at the Bijapur court for a time. His burial next to the tomb of Malik `Anbar is probably due to their personal connection, since he was not attached to the Chishti* order.[103] Writing sixty years ago, Rawnaq `Ali* lamented that Malik `Anbar's tomb was not well taken care of, and he urged the Nizam of Hyderabad to see that funds were made available for proper observation of his death-anniversary, just as in the case of a saint (this was not without precedent; in the middle of the nineteenth century, the Nizamshahs'* tombs were still maintained by the revenue of several villages).[104] More recently, Wahida* Nasim* has noted the reverence that local people feel for Malik `Anbar, and she has argued that he truly had the character of a saint and dervish.[105]

The most notable case of royal saintliness in Khuldabad is the hue of sanctity attributed to the tomb of Awrangzib* (d. 1119/1707), last of the great

Mughul emperors (see Figure 10). He had often visited Khuldabad as a pilgrim, and the first stipulation in his will had specified that he be buried there: "That they shroud and carry this sinner drenched in sins to the neighborhood of the holy Chishti * tomb of the revered leader, Sayyid and Shaykh, Zayn al-Din* Da'ud* Husayn* Shirazi*, since without the protection of that court [of the saints], which is the refuge of forgiveness, there is no refuge for those drowned in the ocean of sin."[106] Aurangzib* felt ambivalent about the tomb veneration, and in keeping with the conservative tone of his later life, he resisted the temptation to build himself a massive imperial mausoleum in the tradition of his forebears. His own simple tomb is technically nothing but an uncovered dirt grave (Figure 9). In the late eighteenth century Sabzawari* described it as follows: "At the foot of the blessed tomb [of Zayn al-Din*] is the place of the emperor Awrangzib* `Alamgir*, buried no more than a few steps from the shadow of that heaven-displaying threshold. The rainwater of mercy falls on the blessed shrine around the tomb of the late emperor. What good fortune that he has found such a pure place and is resting between two saints who may be called the sun and moon of religion—that is, between the twin tombs that are like the pole stars, of the revered Burhan* al-Din* and Zayn al-Din (mercy be upon them)."[107] It presently has a small tree growing on it, and it is surrounded by a marble platform with elegant grillwork, installed by the seventh Nizam in 1341/1922-23. Nearby one also finds the tombs of Awrangzib's* son Muhammad* A`zam* and his wife Awrangi* Bibi* (Figure 8). Awrangzib's* tomb became a place of pilgrimage with a distinctly political tone to it. When the Maratha general Shahu*, grandson of Shivaji*, was released from court detention, he collected an army and went to Ahmednagar to visit the place where Awrangzib* died, then on to Khuldabad to visit Awrangzib's* tomb and distribute money to the poor.[108] Though his visit to Khuldabad had the appearance and form of a pilgrimage to a saint's shrine, it was in reality a manifestation of political allegiance.

In the 1930s a herald (*chubdar**) was always present at the tomb, and at the approach of important visitors, he would bring out gold and silver decorations to adorn the tomb. Due to the Nizam's largesse, there were constant Qur'an* recitations and an open kitchen in the name of Awrangzib*.[109] In the same way, according to oral reports, the Nizam used to make a special visit to Awrangzib's* tomb every year on the death-anniversary, in which he approached it barefoot as the vassal of the Mughul emperor and not as the ruler of an independent kingdom.[110] The Nizam had apportioned a substantial land endowment for the upkeep of the shrine, but after the drastic fiscal reorganization that followed the Indian takeover of Hyderabad, the Nizam Trust now yields only a meagre monthly income of Rs. 6/75 (about fifty cents) for Awrangzib's* tomb.[111] Nowadays Khuldabad has been bypassed by much of the development in Maharashtra, and the Sufi saints are not well known

outside the immediate area. But the tourists who come to visit the Ellora caves sometimes stop for tea in Khuldabad, where their guides inform them that the main item of interest in the town is the grave of Awrangzib *.

Just as royal tombs have taken on some of the characteristics of saints' shrines, so too the tombs of saints have felt the impact of royal patrons, who to some extent reconstructed the shrines to suit their own interests. The Sufi tombs of Khuldabad have been retouched and rebuilt many times, and the intermingling of different regional styles in the shrines still needs to be disentangled by architectural historians. The original tomb of Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* was built by his disciples according to a specially constructed model of the tomb of Nizam* al-Din* Awliya'* in Delhi. A mosque was added by the Bahmani* sultan in 862/1458 (above, Part III, chap. 10), and numerous other reconstructions must have been undertaken at one time or another, since by that time the shrines were totally dependent on royal patronage (see Figures 3-4). One distinctive aspect of the shrine architecture is certainly due to royal patrons, probably the first Nizams: over the main gateway to the city, and in the upper story of the shrines of Burhan* al-Din* Gharib*, Muntajib al-Din* Zar Zari* Zar-bakhsh, and Zayn al-Din*, there are located special galleries (*naqqar* khanas**) for the performance of court music (Figures 2, 12). Variously known in different Islamic countries as the *tabl* khana** ("drum house"), *naqqar** or *naqqara* khana** ("kettledrum house"), or *nawbat khana** ("military band house"), this type of building was designed to house the musicians who performed on special large drums associated with Iranian-based court ritual. It was typically performed for royalty at the five daily times for ritual prayer, or three times a day for nobles of lesser rank. The size of the drums and their use were jealously guarded prerogatives.[112] These drums are still used at the shrine of Mu`in* al-Din* Chishti* at Ajmer, where a five-foot tall drum donated by Akbar may be seen.[113] The *nawbat* drums were still being used in Khuldabad at the annual festival of Muntajib al-Din* Zar Zari* Zar-bakhsh in the 1960s, but the large drums in the courtyard of Burhan* al-Din* Gharib's* shrine have not been used for some time and now lack covers.[114] Unlike *qawwali** music deriving from the classical Sufi *sama'*, the* official court music of the *naqqar* khana** had nothing to do with Sufism, but was an intrusion of royal symbolism into the heart of the Sufi shrines.

The financial documents and architectural monuments of medieval India reveal much when understood in a historical context defined by dynastic history on the one hand and hagiography on the other. The political ambitions of the Muslim rulers of India partly relied on the spiritual authority of Sufi mystics, even when that spiritual authority was reduced to the purely symbolic status of the tomb-shrine. Economic support of these shrines displayed both the strength of the royal authority and its need to secure popular support. In accepting a maintenance from kings, the followers of the Chishtis* of

Khuldabad undoubtedly forfeited their traditional independence along with their poverty, but becoming an explicit part of secular politics was the price of security. Sultans emulated Sufi saints and made their own presence felt in Sufi shrines by building in them structures to celebrate royal authority. The later institutional history of these Sufi shrines shows them to lie at a complicated intersection between the mystical tradition of Islam and royal power.

11
Khuldabad as a Sacred Center in the Local Context

Later hagiographic materials offer a perspective on the Sufis of Khuldabad that is dependent on the royal hagiographies just elaborated, but which also radiate outward to include saints whose connection with history is highly attenuated. Some, such as Baha' * al-Din* Ansari* (d. 1515) and Shah* Khaksar* (seventeenth cent.) appear to have been drawn to the area by its reputation for holiness and stayed on. Little else is known of them, except that Khaksar* was a devotee of Raju* Qattal*. Other local saints have been connected to the early Khuldabad Chishtis* to form a lineage transmitting the dominion of the Deccan region.

These saints sometimes have strong connections to local pre-Islamic culture, and their connections are brought out through colorful legends that reveal saintly power as fundamentally connected with the local landscape. This last phase of history-making can now be explored in terms of the way the Sufis' authority was transmitted and interpreted by later generations, with special emphasis on the Khuldabad-Burhanpur connection and on other local developments in Khuldabad. Hagiographic materials in Persian and Urdu from the Mughul period up to the present day recognize the Sufis of Khuldabad as a potent force for legitimizing both spiritual and political authority, frequently in terms that were intelligible for the local Indian culture. The axis of authoritative symbolism that linked Khuldabad and Burhanpur in this way made possible a local sacred geography for Indian Islam.

The Khuldabad-Burhanpur Axis

The issue of succession to the authority of Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* can be seen most clearly in an obviously political tradition that describes the saint's pre-

diction of the foundation of Burhanpur. *Fath * al-awliya'** gives considerable prominence to this story, which adds the royal Indian symbolism of the elephant and the local symbolism of rivers to a prophecy of dynastic success.[115] In this account, Burhan* al-Din* halted his journey from Delhi to Daulatabad to perform prayers. Standing on a stone in the middle of the river Tapti, he was greatly charmed by the spot, and in his prayers he had a vision of the future city of Burhanpur and prophesied its greatness. The text adds that the stone is known as the *hat'hi* k'harag* (Marathi for "elephant stone"), and that when the Mughul emperor Akbar conquered Burhanpur in 1601, he took a fancy to the stone and had it carved into the likeness of an elephant, as a standing memorial to his conquest. From an oral tradition quoted in a seventeenth-century hagiographic source, we learn a valuable supplementary point, that Burhan* al-Din* Gharib's* prophecy had actually specified that the Faruqi* dynasty would last only until the stone became an elephant.[116] Now the incident has taken on a double significance. Burhan* al-Din* Gharib's* prophecy concerning Burhanpur was undoubtedly of great importance to the Faruqis* as a foundation myth.[117] But the Mughuls had absorbed Khandesh in 1601, and had taken over the Faruqi* symbols of authority, so that all of the known versions of this story are marked with an addition that in its present form reflects Mughul interests: the story of the elephant stone makes a second prediction of Mughul supremacy implicit in the first one. All that was necessary was for Akbar to recognize the inner aspect of the elephant in the stone and leave it as an imperial monument, as had many an Indian ruler before him. The location of this incident in a river would also convey to a local audience the association of rivers with fertility and power that is typical in Marathi culture. European travelers in the seventeenth century observed that the stone elephant in the Tapti was painted like a temple and worshiped by the "Gentiles."[118] The story thus legitimizes the authority of the Mughuls over Khandesh, deftly combining the spiritual recognition of a Sufi saint with an aura of imperial and cosmic power suggested by the symbolism of the elephant and the river.

Succession to Burhan* al-Din* Gharib's* authority took on a more straightforward guise in the form of shadowy Sufi lineages formed in descent from the saint. It should be emphasized that these lineages belong almost wholly to the realm of hagiography and contain little of the teaching content of the Sufi tradition, unlike the well-documented literary circle that recorded the teachings of Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* in Khuldabad. Especially striking is the case of a lineage of saints who transmitted his authority from Daulatabad to Burhan-pur and periodically renewed it by visiting his tomb. The first of these was Sayyid `Ala'* al-Din* Ziya'* (d. 801/1398-99), whose birth was due to the prognostication of Burhan* al-Din* Gharib*.

Again, the earliest written source is *Fath* al-awliya'**, from which we draw

the following summary. [119] It seems that after the move to Daulatabad, one of the duties that Nizam* al-Din* Awliya'* had laid upon Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* was to look after one of the daughters of the great shaykh Farid* al-Din* Ganj-i Shakkar. On his weekly Friday visit to the lady, who is usually identified as Bibi* `A'isha*, Burhan* al-Din* Gharib's* glance happened to fall upon her beautiful and pious 14-year-old daughter, and he smiled. When the observant mother asked (in Multani dialect) the reason for this smile, he replied that she carried in her womb a saint who had saluted him, so that he was greatly astonished. He knew that she was an unmarried virgin, so he wondered if the saint would be born without a father, like Jesus; that had been the reason for his smile. Bibi* `A'isha* was not amused, but pointed out that having made the prediction, he should determine whether the girl is to be properly married or not. Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* then promised that a suitable husband would appear by the following Friday, and so it happened that Sayyid Ziya'* al-Din* duly appeared, and they were married. Having fulfilled his duty, Sayyid Ziya'* al-Din* took his leave after three days, and `Ala'* al-Din* Ziya'* was born in due time. Everyone brought gifts then, with the exception of Burhan* al-Din* Gharib*, who gave the excuse that he had no possessions. Farid* al-Din's* daughter observed that he was nonetheless the master of the dominion (*vil-ayat**) of the entire Deccan. Thereupon the saint agreed to bestow upon the child the regions of Munki Patan and Khandesh as his future dominion. At any rate, despite Burhan* al-Din* Gharib's* prophecy that the child would become a great teacher of religion, the boy ran away as soon as possible with a singer and lived a dissolute life. Eventually, however, he repented and undertook rigorous asceticism, so that he was finally recognized as the saint predicted by Burhan* al-Din* Gharib*.

Another spiritual linkage enters the story at this point, as `Ala'* al-Din* Ziya'* announced that it was necessary for him to get initiation from another Chishti* master in Gujarat, Rukn al-Din* Chishti*, upon which he himself would initiate all those who are destined to be connected with this Sufi order.[120] Through a complicated series of circumstances, `Ala'* al-Din* Ziya'* met and recognized his future disciple Nizam* al-Din* Idris*, a strange man who went about with a bow and a stone ball in search of a master who could read his inner soul. Abandoning these implements on the advice of `Ala'* al-Din* Ziya'*, he went to Gujarat and obtained from Rukn al-Din* initiatic robes and authorization to teach for `Ala'* al-Din* Ziya'*. Nizam* al-Din* Idris* became the successor of `Ala'* al-Din* Ziya'* and had from him the charge of the dominion of Munki Patan, where he is buried. The tomb of `Ala'* al-Din* Ziya'* is in Daulatabad, though presently neglected; the tomb of Bibi* `A'isha* and her daughter is to the south of Amir* Hasan* Dihlavi's* tomb just outside Khuldabad (Figure 14). Although the details of this story are romantic, the political impact would be felt through the bestowal of the dominion particularly of Khandesh upon the

infant `Ala' *, al-Din* Ziya'*. This gift underlined the supreme authority of Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* over the whole Deccan at the same time that it opened up the possibility of expanding the Chishti* order in Khandesh.

The next step took place through a disciple of `Ala'* al-Din* Ziya'*, Shah* Nu`man* of Asir* (d. 881/1476-77), to whom in turn the dominion of Khandesh would be bequeathed. Once again, the fullest source we have is *Fath* al-awliya'*, from which the following details are extracted.[121] Shah* Nu`man* claimed descent from one of the early Chishti* saints, Mawdud* Chishti* (d. 527/1133), and the travels and circumstances of his ancestors are fully de-tailed. Shah* Nu`man's* great-grandfather Muhammad* Tahir* is said to have sought a Sufi vocation, with the idea of spreading the Islamic faith, and so he came to India, settling at last in the delightful abode of Daulatabad. In the chronology that follows there is some confusion, probably deriving from the use of different sources. We are now told that Shah* Nu`man's* religious vocation began at age twelve and at that time he became a disciple of Sayyid `Ala'* al-Din* Ziya'*. After many austerities, he obtained the Chishti* initiatic robe and diploma of authorization together with the dominion of Khandesh.[122] Meditating that night at the resting place of Burhan* al-Din* Gharib*, he perceived in a vision that the city of Burhanpur would soon be founded. Accordingly, in 822/1419 he traveled to Khandesh and visited the future site of Burhanpur, which at that time was still a village called Vaysana*. Pushing on farther, he settled at the base of the mountain fortress of Asir*, where he is buried. His appearance greatly impressed the inhabitants of the place, especially after he caused a spring to come into existence to provide water for ablutions; he named it the Siwari*, and predicted that it could continue to flow clear for one hundred thirty more years. Some local people became his disciples, and when deer and other animals approached the peaceful hermitage, the men would kill the beasts to prepare the saint's meals. An incidental story relates that the eponymous builder of the fortress of Asir*, Asa* Ahir*, became a disciple of Shah* Nu`man* as well, and constructed the mighty fort in his honor.[123]

In the meantime, Nasir* Khan* Faruqi* (d. 841/1437), son of Malik Raja*, had declared himself the independent ruler of Khandesh in 801/1398-99, and was living in the town of Thalner. Being greatly drawn to Sufism, he came to visit the shaykh, and had his son do so also (this was `Adil* Khan* Shahid*, the next ruler of Khandesh). Nasir* Khan* was so eager to spend time with Shah* Nu`man* that he asked permission to move closer. Shah* Nu`man* consulted both with God and with the spirit of Burhan* al-Din* Gharib*, and became aware that the "elephant stone" in the Tapti River marked the spot where Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* had prayed, which would become the site of the city of Burhanpur and the capital of the Faruqis*. Nasir* Khan* gladly received this information, and finally in 835/1431-32, he began to lay the foundations of the city. Shortly afterward he captured the fortress of Asir* by a strategem. On account of the generosity of Nasir* Khan* toward Sufis, his kingdom became a center of the

Chishti * order, to whose members he awarded many stipends and land endowments. The text makes an excursus at this point to relate an additional foundation story, also known to the seventeenth-century historian Firishta, which anachronistically depicts Burhan* al-Din* Gharib's* chief disciple Zayn al-Din* Shirazi* (d. 771/1370) coming to congratulate Nasir* Khan* on his conquest of Asir*, at the same time enrolling the Faruqi* dynasty under his protection until the Resurrection.[124] Further stories depict Shah* Nu`man's* supremacy among spiritual leaders of the region. He is shown humbling a yogi named Shiva Nath* by a demonstration of the ability to transform stones into gold with a glance, so that the yogi converted to Islam, and he also correctly intuited the problems that the Sufi leader Shah* `Alam* (d. 880/1475-76) of Gujarat was having with Sultan Mahmud* Begar'ha*.

The biography of Shah* Nu`man* closes on a curious note. Some disciples are puzzled about why Sayyid Nizam* al-Din* Idris* is named as Shah* Nu`man's* master in their spiritual "tree" (*shajara*) documents, rather than Sayyid `Ala'* al-Din* Ziya'*. In reply to this question it is said that when Shah* Nu'man* went to receive his teaching authorization from `Ala'* al-Din* Ziya'*, the latter took a sip from a cup (*piyala**) and presented it to the disciple, who then drained it. `Ala'* al-Din* Ziya'* then told Shah* Nu`man* to guard the cup carefully. Shah* Nu`man* replied, "Your children (*farzandan**) will get it [i.e., discipleship] from me." Thus a reciprocal relationship was worked out, so that Shah* Nu`man* put the name of Nizam* al-Din* Idris* (the spiritual "child" of `Ala'* al-Din* Ziya'*) in the place of his real master, and `Ala'* al-Din* Ziya's* "children" put the name of Shah* Nu`man* as their master.

At this point it may be noted that the portrayal of the life of Shah* Nu`man* in *Fath* al-awliya'** repeatedly emphasizes his connection with Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* and the foundation of Burhanpur; this connection takes on the force of revelation both at his initiation by `Ala'* al-Din* Ziya'* and later on when questioned by Nadir* Khan* Faruqi*. The importance that the text lays on this relationship is clear also from the final obscure discussion of spiritual genealogy. Although Shah* Nu`man* was most commonly associated with the local saint Nizam* al-Din* Idris*, *Fath* al-awliya'** insists that his real connection was with `Ala'* al-Din* Ziya'* (and therefore Burhan* al-Din* Gharib*), from whom the spiritual dominion of the region had been transmitted.

The last figure to receive the authority of Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* was Baha'* al-Din* Shah* Bajan* (d. 912/1507). Born in 790/1388 in Ahmadabad, Shah* Bajan* was descended from the caliph 'Umar ibn al-Khattab*, and one of his ancestors, Shaykh Ahmad* Madani*, was so eminent a scholar of *hadith** that he resolved questions on the subject by consulting the Prophet at will in his dreams; he also had nightly access to the Prophet's tomb. Shah* Bajan* was initiated by his father, with whom he set out on a journey to the Hejaz. When they reached Khurasan, the father had a dream of the Prophet Muhammad*, who informed him that their pilgrimage had already been accepted, and that it

was the destiny of the son to go to Burhanpur to teach and lead according to the religious law of Islam. The father then died, and Shah * Bajan* returned to India and lived for some years in Delhi with his uncle Shaykh 'Ata*' Allah*, who succeeded to his father's position as Sufi master. Finally prompted inwardly to go to the Deccan, he visited the tomb of Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* in Daulatabad, and then headed for Bidar and became a disciple of Shaykh Manjhle*, a mysterious figure who was himself a disciple of the Chishti* martyr Mas`ud* Bakk (d. 1387).[125] After that, he went to Gujarat and spent seven years with dervishes and in retreat, and then finally came to Burhanpur. At some point, Shah* Bajan* also became a disciple of Shaykh Rahmat* Allah* ibn Shaykh `Aziz* Allah* Mutawakkil of Mandu.[126] He was welcomed to Burhanpur by the Faruqi* prince `Ayna* `Adil* Shah* (r. 861-909/1457-1503), and lived for many years in Burhanpur. He was extremely popular, and was known for the literary talent in Persian and Gujari poetry displayed in his Sufi treatise *Khizanat-i* rahmat* allah**. So much we learn from *Fath* al-awliya'**, which is for once restrained in describing the authority of a saint.[127]

To fill out the picture of the saint's spiritual connections we are fortunate to have access to *Khizanat-i* rahmat* allah**, in which Shah* Bajan* sets out an account of his own destiny that is much more closely linked with Burhan* al-Din* Gharib*.[128] In describing his slow itinerary to Burhanpur, Shah* Bajan* revealed that he had thought it best to go first to Khuldabad, since Burhanpur was under Burhan* al-Din's* protection, to seek the blessing and guidance of the saint. Burhan* al-Din* appeared to him three times in dreams with the same message, saying that he was indeed dead, that up to now Burhanpur had been in his own protection, but that he would entrust it to Shah* Bajan*. Moreover, Burhan* al-Din* gave Shah* Bajan* a written teaching authorization (*ijazat* nama**) in the dream, and told him to come to Khuldabad to receive a garment (*pishwaz**) that had been Burhan* al-Din's*, and which was especially reserved as a trust (amana*) for Shah* Bajan*. Burhan* al-Din* then appeared in a dream to the custodian of his shrine, Shaykh Jivan*, ordering him to give the garment to Shah* Bajan* when he arrived as a pilgrim. The custodian did as ordered, and also gave Shah* Bajan* an initiatic genealogy (*shajara*). Burhan* al-Din* then appeared in the latter's dream again, twice repeating that "Burhanpur is my station, which I entrust to you," and giving him permission to leave. It was only then that Shah* Bajan* was ready to make his way to Burhanpur. Shah* Bajan's* connection with Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* reveals how important the latter's authority was in the fifteenth-century Deccan. It shows less political construction than does the lineage of `Ala'* al-Din* Ziya'* and Shah* Nu`man* While Shah* Bajan* did form an attachment with the Faruqi* dynasty, his relationship with Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* was independent of royal authority. The authority of `Ala'* al-Din* Ziya'* and Shah* Nu`man*, on the other hand, was (at least in *Fath* al-awliya'**) important only insofar as it led from Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* up to the consolidation of the kingdom of Burhanpur.

The Local Saints of Khuldabad

Aside from overt political connections, the saints of Khuldabad exerted an authority that was widely recognized in the region, in many cases through signs of miraculous power marked with a strong local accent. The earliest among them may have come even prior to the transfer of Delhi's elite to Daulatabad. But since we have no contemporary sources of information about them, nor any historical inscriptions on their tombs, the legendary saints remain misty figures enlarged by the passage of time into giants. The late hagiographical literature praises their greatness but offers little descriptive detail. With only legends of this type available, it is not surprising that even medieval hagiographers have lamented the absence of texts that would shed light on the lives and history of these early saints. [129] Nonetheless, the legends are valuable sources for understanding the way that the power of sainthood was mediated into the local culture.

One of the legendary Sufis was Jalal* al-Din*, better known by the epithet "Ganj-i Ravan*" ("flowing treasure"). He is supposed to have been a disciple, perhaps by one intermediary, of Shaykh Shihab* al-Din* al-Suhrawardi* of Baghdad, and is believed to have come to the area when it was still ruled by a Hindu raja. Some believe that he had been a soldier who fought against Chingiz* Khan* on the banks of the Indus and was well received by Sultan Iltutmish (d. 634/1236) at Delhi. He is supposed to have come to the Deccan in search of solitude in 634/1236-37.[130] As an example of the vague halo of sanctity that came to surround him we may quote the eighteenth-century author Sabzawari*: "By various miracles and numerous supernatural feats he defeated the people of infidelity and sorcery. He confounded the foundation of infidelity and ignorance. He first revealed the sign and the practice of Islam and made firm the pomp of the faith of Muhammad."[131] Sabzawari's* description gives no details, however, of the feats by which Jalal* al-Din* may have impressed the local inhabitants. Azad* Bilgrami* writing some decades earlier only recorded that Jalal* al-Din* came to Khuldabad before the Chishtis*, and he praised the beauty of the tomb, which overlooks a splendid view of a spring-fed pond, known as the Fairies' Tank (*pariyan* ka* talab*); the pastoral beauty of this scene is still impressive today.[132]

It remained for a recent hagiographer, Rawnaq `Ali*, to record the legends associated with Jalal* al-Din*. One account states that when he came to Khuldabad he bound and imprisoned a demon or jinn named Azar* beneath a stone on which he had prayed, which is still found to the east of his tomb. This stone is perhaps identical with a large stone *yoni,* which is still in ritual use today by Hindu pilgrims; this once formed the base for a *Shiva-lingarn,* and is now found a few feet to the east of the main entrance to the tomb. The presence of this Hindu ritual object suggests that Jalal* al-Din's* tomb was built at an earlier center for worshipers of Shiva. Also near the tomb is a tree that he

caused to bear fruit for his children. Such is the virtue of this tree that barren women may conceive children by eating its fruit. It is said that a hermaphrodite once mocked the saint's powers by eating the tree's fruit; miraculously the hermaphrodite became pregnant and bore a child, though both died soon after. Both parent and child are buried in the courtyard near the tomb, and the site is pointed out with emphasis to the visitor. At the saint's annual festival beginning on 26 Dhu * al-Qa`da, one day (the 29th) is set aside especially for women's participation, and the festival is still quite popular among women. Bathing in water from the Fairies' Tank is recommended to cure illnesses among women. The saint's death-date is recorded as the surprisingly early 644/1247.[133] His reputation as a binder of demons mythologizes him by making him the hero of a cosmic combat. His ability to heal and provide fertility through the tree and the water of the tank provides continuity with the sacred powers of the Maharashtran landscape, and perhaps with earlier Shiva traditions associated with the locality where he is buried.

Another early saint of the region was Mu'min `Arif*, whose tomb lies at the foot of the hills due east of the Daulatabad fort. Scarcely anything is known about this figure, nor is it possible to say anything of his connection with Sufism. He is believed to have come to the area before the time of the Khalji* conquest of the Deccan, perhaps around 1200. His name itself, which means "believer" (*mu'min*) and "knower" (*`arif**), subsumes him from any particular individuality into the generality of religious virtue. Sabzawari* recorded that Mu'min `Arif* was descended from the eighth Shi`i* imam, `Ali* Riza'*, and that his death is observed on 20 Safar*, just as in the case of the imam.[134] On this anniversary, songs of lamentation (*marsiyya*) for the sufferings of the Shi`i* imams formed the principal ritual during the eighteenth century. To judge by his descent from an imam and the performance of Shi`i* ritual at his tomb, Mu'min `Arif* appears to have been more closely connected to Shi`i* piety than to Sufism. Nowadays these Shi`i* practices are no longer found; the shaykh, now know as Mu'min `Arif* Baqi* Billah*, is connected with the Suhrawardi* Sufi order, and the customary weekly Thursday visits and annual festival prevail.[135]

According to current oral tradition, Mu'min `Arif* came to Deogir when it was still ruled by a Hindu raja. One of his miracles occurred when this raja stole and butchered the cow of a Muslim woman, who then came to appeal to the saint for help. Mu'min `Arif* by his supernatural power restored the cow to life, thus demonstrating his divine support; the eventual grave of the cow is still pointed out to visitors.[136] The heterogeneous elements in the story of this saint suggest that different constituencies preserved different traditions about Mu'min `Arif*. At one point Shi`i* observances predominated, and for some local devotees the saint acted out the defense of cows against royal repression. The story of the cow in particular sets the usual "Hindu-Muslim" stereotype

on its head. As in the case of the veneration of Muslim "holy warriors" by local non-Muslim Indian communities, an Islamic figure has become assimilated to an Indian norm of sanctity, in this case the protection of cows. [137]

Perhaps the most remarkable legendary saint of Khuldabad, however, is Burhan* al-Din* Gharib's* brother Muntajib al-Din*, better known as Zar Zari* Zar-bakhsh, "the giver of the essence of gold." Although his connection with the Chishti* tradition is beyond doubt, the lack of any contemporary account leaves him in the fog of legend, forever beyond the grasp of our knowledge. Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* only referred twice to his brother in his collected discourses, once in an anecdote concerning the rules of fasting and a second time in a story about Muntajib al-Din* meeting a madman.[138] While Burhan* al-Din* and his disciples undoubtedly respected Muntajib al-Din, he was not known as a Sufi teacher. Sabzawari* expansively refers to his thousands of disciples and converts, but twentieth-century sources maintain that he had no formal disciples (the case of Sona* Ba'i*, mentioned below, is obviously exceptional).[139] Literally nothing else is known of the life and teachings of Muntajib al-Din*. What remains is his impressive tomb (Figure 5), built alongside that of his mother Bibi* Hajira*, and a small cave to which he used to retreat on the side of Hoda Hill a few furlongs away (overlooking the tomb of Sayyid Yusuf* Husayni* Raju*; Qattal*; see Figure 17). Today the fame of Muntajib al-Din* has outstripped that of any other saint of Khuldabad, and his festival regularly attracts a very large attendance.[140] He is said to have died on 7 Rabi`* al-Awwal 709/15 August 1309, and I was fortunate to be present as a guest at his seven hundredth death-anniversary festival in Khuldabad in the fall of 1987.

In any case, the reconstruction of the life of Muntajib al-Din* has focused on his coming to the Deccan to introduce the Chishti* order and spread Islam. The earliest biography of Muntajib al-Din* is given by Sabzawari* in the eighteenth century, although he draws upon an important tradition that was first articulated in *Fath* al-awliya'** a century earlier. Sabzawari* at first describes Muntajib al-Din* as a disciple of Nizam* al-Din* Awliya'*, although in a verse immediately following, Muntajib al-Din* is referred to as a disciple of Farid* al-Din* Ganj-i Shakkar.[141] In *Fath* al-awliya'**, however, the issue of spiritual dominion (*vilayat**) comes to the fore immediately. In a lengthy buildup, Nizam* al-Din* Awliya'* is portrayed in a meditative ecstasy, suddenly interrupted by a divine voice offering the saint any boon he can name. After some hesitation, Nizam* al-Din* requests that any disciple to whom he gives *vilayat** will hold it safely until the resurrection without any alteration. Although *vilayat** also means sainthood (from *vali**, "friend" [of God], saint), the author of *Fath* al-awliya'** has in mind the distribution of saintly authority over the political domain. He describes Nizam* al-Din's* assignment of the dominion of Delhi to Nasir* al-Din* Mahmud* "Chiragh-i* Dihli*," that of Malwa to Wajih* al-

Din * Yusuf*, and so on, in this way dividing most of the subcontinent among his chief disciples. In this way Muntajib al-Din* received the dominion over the entire Deccan.

After Muntajib al-Din's* departure for Daulatabad, accompanied by seven hundred Sufi saints, some years passed, when suddenly one day Nizam* al-Din* asked Burhan* al-Din* Gharib*, "Was your brother Muntajib al-Din* older or younger?" From this Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* guessed that his brother had died, and in a scene drawn out with many dramatic touches, *Fath* al-awliya'** describes how Nizam* al-Din* then conferred the *vilayat** of the Deccan upon Burhan* al-Din* Gharib*. When the latter displayed some reluctance to leave his master, Nizam* al-Din* presented him with his own sandals as a token of their continuing connection, and also ordered seven hundred (or fourteen hundred) of the assembled disciples to accompany Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* in palanquins to the Deccan.[142] In this way the transfer of the Chishti* order to Daulatabad was accomplished, as commemorated by the "Mosque of Fourteen Hundred Saints" in Khuldabad.[143] Thus the transplantation of the Chishti* order takes on a purely spiritual significance, so that it stands in contrast with Sultan Muhammad* ibn Tughluq's forcible removal of the Muslim population of Delhi to Daulatabad in 1329.[144] It will be recalled that one of the main themes of *Fath* al-awliya'** was the subsequent distribution of the dominion of the Deccan from Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* to his successors `Ala'*' al-Din* Ziya'* and Shah* Nu`man*, as part of the legitimation of the Faruqis'* claim to authority. Muntajib al-Din's* role in this hagiography was to be the prior link in the chain of divinely decreed authority. The tension between *Fath* al-awliya'** and the Tughluq chronicles need not be reduced to a contradiction of sources, in which one is right and the other wrong, but may be considered simply as a tension between different historiographies.[145]

Although Muntajib al-Din's* epithet Zar Zari* Zar-bakhsh may have been originally symbolic of spiritual riches, it has given rise to a number of legends that explain circumstantially how he was the giver of gold. The epithet does not occur in the early literature, but is found occasionally in Mughul revenue documents of the seventeenth century (sometimes it is also applied to Burhan* al-Din* Gharib*, or even to Nizam* al-Din* Awliya'*). The first legend, given by the historian Firishta, relates that on the caravan down from Delhi to Daulatabad, by the grace of Nizam* al-Din* Awliya'*, Muntajib al-Din* miraculously received a gold bar every day to defray the expenses of the fourteen hundred during the journey. A second story, known to the seventeenth-century hagiographer Khwishagi*, maintains that he received a golden robe every morning and evening, which he would sell for money to support his companions. A third version tells how in a time of famine, Muntajib al-Din* prayed for help for the people, whereupon golden branches grew from the ground (this appears to be related to the story of the silver branches that, according to Rawnaq `Ali*, appeared by the tomb of Burhan* al-Din* Gharib*). A fourth

account states that when the mother of Muntajib al-Din * was in labor, she had difficulty in giving birth to the child, and the father learned from his master that a saintly personage like Muntajib al-Din* was not to be born naked. The mother accordingly was given a nugget of gold to eat, and Zar Zari* Zar-bakhsh was born with a golden diaper (*langota**).[146] A fifth story concerns Sona* Ba'i* as discussed below.

The feminine role is not prominent in the "classical" hagiographical literature of Chishti* Sufism, but recent writers on the saints of Khuldabad have given a more appreciable account of feminine presence in the spiritual geography of the region. The Five Ladies (*panch* bibiyan**), the sisters of Muntajib al-Din* and Burhan* al-Din* Gharib*, are buried outside the tomb of Nasir* al-Din* Pa'on* Payk, and they (like Bibi* Hajira* and Bibi* `A'isha*) are recognized as saintly individuals.[147] An anniversary festival also takes place on 21 Sha`ban* at the tomb of Khwan* Bibi* Sahiba*, the learned and pious adopted daughter of Zayn al-Din* Shirazi*, within his tomb complex (see Figure 8).[148] One of the most prominent gardens of Khuldabad, the Bani* Begam* garden (now unfortunately run down), contains the tomb of the wife of the Mughul prince Bidar* Bakht, elder son of A`zam* Shah*.[149]

But the most striking woman in the hagiography of Khuldabad is undoubtedly the Hindu princess Sona* Ba'i* ("gold woman" in Marathi), who became a disciple of Zar Zari* Zar-bakhsh. She is known especially for having constructed the well named after her, the Sona* Ba'oli* (three other less prominent wells are named after her three sisters Ba'ola* Ba'i* Dak* Ba'i*, and Kut'ha* [or Kut'ha*] Ba'i*). The story is told that her father, a Hindu chieftain, was the ruler of the country. When Muntajib al-Din* arrived in Khuldabad and settled on Hoda Hill, he sent a servant out to fetch water for ablutions. When the servant requested access to the well from an attendant, he was refused, but by good fortune Sona* Ba'i* happened to be passing by with her companions. Hearing that the already famous Zar Zari* Zar-bakhsh was requesting water, she jestingly replied that he could have water as soon as the well turned to gold. When the servant returned to the saint and relayed the message, he replied, "So be it," and instructed the servant to return, take some water, and then place a handkerchief belonging to Zar Zari* Zar-bakhsh in the well. The servant followed these orders, and Sona* Ba'i* watched in amazement as the water turned to flowing gold. She then understood the power of the God who could perform such a deed, went to meet the saint, and became his disciple. The gold had led her to the maker of gold. She and her family converted to Islam, and she eventually became an adept mystic.[150] Sona* Ba'i's* tomb lies under a jasmine tree between the tombs of Zar Zari* Zar-bakhsh and his mother Bibi* Hajira*.[151] Her well, the Sona* Ba'oli*, still forms part of the itinerary of the festival procession at the *`urs* of Zar Zari* Zar-bakhsh. It is suggestive that Zar Zari* Zar-bakhsh is also known locally as Dulha* Miyan*, "the noble bridegroom," according to one source because he died young.[152] At least by the

seventeenth century, Hindus and Muslims alike participated in all the rituals at the annual festival of Zar Zari * Zar-bakhsh.[153] As with Ghazi* Miyan* and other heroes who have been assimilated to Indian patterns, Zar Zari* Zar-bakhsh may have taken on the epithet of "bridegroom" for a local population that regarded him as taking part in a *hieros gamos* or sacred marriage with his feminine counterpart.

The multilayered stories about Muntajib al-Din* Zar Zari* Zar-bakhsh reflect his appeal to different audiences. For the political elite, he is the guarantor of legitimate authority and the possessor of the dominion of the Deccan. Other local groups regard him as a miracle worker in accordance with the promise of his name. Some put his prodigies in the context of feminine spirituality and the wells that form a powerful element in the cosmos of Maharashtra. His sainthood radiates authority in several dimensions at once.

The establishment of Rawza or Khuldabad in the fourteenth century as a center of Sufism in the Deccan created a new spiritual center for Indian Muslims in the region. The Khuldabad-Burhanpur connection was a linkage of spiritual authority through Sufi lineages that ensured saintly protection for the Faruqi* dynasty of Burhanpur. By drawing on the established territorial principle of "dominions" in Sufism, the Faruqis* were able to use their association with the Chishtis* of Khuldabad to bolster their own authority. Literate Sufis like Shah* Bajan* of Burhanpur continued to regard the tomb of Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* in Khuldabad as the center of saintly power in the Deccan. On a more local basis, saints such as Mu'min `Arif* and Ganj-i Ravan* became famous not through the Persianate literary hagiographies but through legends that represented the symbolic world of Maharashtra. These saints became larger-than-life figures, partaking of the qualities of heroism within the Indian cosmos, by protecting cows, imprisoning demons, and bestowing health and fertility. Muntajib al-Din* Zar Zari* Zar-bakhsh played a variety of roles for several different audiences, ranging from the political elite to the local cultivators. Khuldabad was a sacred center for Indian Islam in many senses. This was a sacred geography composed of many maps, layered one over the other.

PART IV
CONCLUSIONS

What issues does Khuldabad raise for the study of south Asian Islam, Indo-Muslim rule, institutional Sufism, and the Chishti * brotherhood? First, the Khuldabad materials furnish a thorough documentation of multiple historiographies, each with its own narrative interpretation of the authority of the Sufi master. Historical perspectives on the Sufi master have changed drastically over the centuries, and the interpretations of the actions and purposes of the Sufis have changed too. This change in perspective was not apparent as long as the religious history of south Asia was read through the lens of political sources, including both dynastic histories and the late hagiographies in which royalist motives interfered.

The fourteenth-century *malfuzat** texts from Khuldabad significantly enlarge our understanding of the formation of this genre of Sufi literature. When placed alongside the well-known *Fawa'id** *al-fu'ad** of Nizam* al-Din* and *Khayr al-majalis** of Chiragh-i* Dihli*, the texts on Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* (*Nafa'is** *al-anfas**, *Ahsan** *al-aqwal**, *Ghara'ib** *al-karamat**, *and Sharna'il** *al-atqiya'**) offer a major expansion of the sources on the early Chishtis*. The information conveyed in these narrative accounts of Sufi teaching challenges the received picture of early Indian Sufism. What are we to make of the discrepancies over the status of Burhan* al-Din* Gharib*, who is dismissed as a minor figure by the Delhi-focused branch of Chishtis* (Mir* Khwurd, Hamid* Qalandar, Gisu* Daraz*, all followers of Chiragh-i* Dihli*), while his disciples in the Deccan depict him as the principal successor to Chishti* authority? Such a question cannot be directly answered by an outsider; one who affirms the authenticity of an initiatic lineage is expressing a personal relationship with the authority of that lineage. For the historian of religion, the diversity that the Khuldabad texts reveal within fourteenth-century Chishti* circles constitutes instead a challenge for historiographic interpretation. An even greater gap is revealed

between the Khuldabad *malfuzat* * and the hagiographies of later centuries, each of which reflects a differing religious and political perspective.

Taking the Khuldabad texts into account therefore makes it more than ever clear that the different types of writing about Sufi saints need to be classified according to their genre and purpose. The "original" *malfuzat** texts written by the literate courtier disciples of the Chishti* masters discuss the authority of the Sufi shaykh from a pedagogical perspective, treating it as an oral transmission of Chishti* teachings. The words and actions of the Sufi master, like the *hadith** of the Prophet, are recorded for their blessings and their teaching value, both for the immediate audience and for future generations of would-be disciples. Hagiographies in contrast emphasize initiatic authority as a mediation between God and the saint's followers. These "lives of the saints" stress miraculous power and authority over teaching. The same is true of the "retrospective" *malfuzat** texts, which are presented as accounts of the principal Sufi saints as recorded by their chief successors. This historiographic approach has meaning primarily as a guarantee of the salvific power of the lineage from the viewpoint of the ordinary devotee. Sufi biographers and historians with royalist inclinations (e.g., Firishta) treat the authority of Sufi saints as the guarantee of legitimate dominion, which is to be entrusted to the ruling dynasty. Popular tales of the Sufis adapt their names and lives in ways that reflect the local cosmology, often preserving elements of pre-Islamic origin. Late hagiographies from the seventeenth century onward (Dara* Shikuh*, Sabzawari*) and oral traditions recorded in nineteenth-century gazetteers depict the Sufis as missionaries of Islam, sent by their masters to convert the heathen. Sometimes the Sufis become warriors and martyrs based on the models of Indian epic heroes.

These multiple perspectives illustrate the ways in which certain groups explain their own relationship with Islam, using the Sufi saint as the medium for that relationship. In recent times the image of the Sufi as missionary has been encouraged by the modem Pakistani state, to support the ideological interpretation of Islam as the basis for government. A competing political image is fostered in India, where Sufis are depicted as tolerant universalists and secularists only tangentially related to Islam. In all these cases the interpretive stance is governed by the aim of the literary genre employed.

The conflict of narratives offers the opportunity for clarifying more precisely the genre to which each text belongs. When the dynastic chroniclers Barani* and `Isami* described the transfer of the Muslim elite from Delhi to Daulatabad, they called it "the destruction of Delhi," and both regarded it as one of the tyrannical actions that would doom the empire of Muhammad* ibn Tughluq. Their perspective was that of the cultured religious scholar who writes history as a mirror for princes, using the concept of the ideal ruler to measure the behavior of present kings. Muhammad* ibn Tughluq's forcible incorporation of the religious classes into his administrative machinery made

him the villain of their chronicles. The ultimate fate of the Sufi mystics who were included in the migration to Daulatabad did not receive any mention in these histories.

In contrast, when later hagiographies (such as *Fath * al-awliya'**) were commissioned by the Faruqi* rulers of Khandesh and by the Mughuls, the coming of the Sufis to Daulatabad was no longer part of the tragic tale of Tughluq misrule; now it was the triumphal arrival of a Sufi saint to claim dominion over the Deccan with his entourage of fourteen hundred saints. Burhan* al-Din* Gharib's* prophecies of the greatness of future kings were matched by the text's unrestrained exaltation of the Chishti* initiatic lineage. Although the elements of this story were taken from hagiography, its purpose was political. Using Khuldabad as the focus of a microstudy makes it possible to bring out the conflicting testimonies, and in this way chart the historiographical landscape with more precision. Narrative conflict need not be reduced to mere contradiction, in which we choose which is right and which is wrong—historiographic interpretation is designed not to bring out a single line of meaning, but multiple refractions of the significance of each event.

Second, the Sufi establishment at Khuldabad, when examined in its historical context, sheds light on the fundamentally nonreligious character of the Indo-Muslim state. The foundations of the Indo-Muslim state were of so varied a nature that it is no longer possible to characterize this era as the "Muslim period" of Indian history. The ideology of religious nationalism is singularly inept when it comes to describing this kind of premodern institution. The powerful traditions of Persian kingship combined with central Asian political ideas derived from Turks and Mongols formed the basis of the Delhi sultanate. Islamic symbolism of the caliphate and administrative structures using *qazi** judges gave an overlay of religious usage to the sultanate, but the regime itself did not have any formal basis in Islamic law. Patronage of religion was an important function of government, since legitimation of the state in practical terms could only be conferred in this way. Patronage was extended to some non-Muslim religious institutions through the same mechanisms by which Sufi centers and academies for Islamic religious scholars were supported. The use of land endowment as the means of patronage inevitably integrated religious centers, including Sufi shrines, into the government bureaucracy.

Sufism as a spiritual discipline based on master-disciple relationships was potentially in tension with the sultanate over the question of whose authority was to be supreme. *Malfuzat** texts from Khuldabad provide extensive details regarding the relations between the Sufis and the Delhi sultanate. While Chishti* principles forbade asking for girls or receiving regular stipends or land revenue, nonetheless many disciples of Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* were officials in the Tughluq administration in Daulatabad, and it was of interest to the Chishtis* to find out if prospective disciples were generous and well-disposed

to dervishes. The Chishti * masters did not directly question the sultanate itself, at least not in public, but they were perpetually on guard to the perversion of authority by brutality and greed. Sometimes individual Sufi disciples would get into conflict with the sultan over particular policies, like the noble Malik al-Muluk*, who believed that the people were suffering unnecessarily (probably from excessive taxation). Several cases are related of disciples in government jobs who felt the contradictions in their positions, and wished to resign and take up a dervish's solitude. Burhan* al-Din* and Nizam* al-Din* before him consistently counseled their disciples to retain these worldly occupations until their vocation for poverty should become undeniable. Just as the Sufi masters lived in close proximity to the court, but were in principle independent of it, their courtier disciples were expected to perform their duties while trying to remain inwardly focused on their spiritual path.

The conflict of narratives of Sufi-sultan relations gives insight into the different historiographic perspectives underlying the documents. Royalist re-workings of stories about saints tend to annihilate the tension between Sufis and sultans. Custodians of the shrine of Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* in the fifteenth century composed a document (Appendix B) depicting him establishing an administrative structure to run the shrine after his death. In doing so, they made significant alterations to his speech as preserved in *Nafa'is** *al-anfas**, and they omitted his final advice to avoid accepting gifts from kings. The distance between the fifteenth-century revenue document and the *malfuzat** indicates how far the shrine attendants had moved in the direction of the royal establishment. In the absence of an active teaching lineage, the Sufi shrine was totally dependent on kings for support.

Zayn al-Din* Shirazi* defied the Bahmani* sultan, and in his *malfuzat** he explained the confrontation as evidence of how God loves and preserves the saints. The dynastic chronicler Firishta recorded this event in an entirely different sense, showing the saint becoming reconciled to the sultan and bestowing titles of legitimacy in recognition of the regime's religious policies. Thus even saintly criticism of kings can be transformed into praise by creative revision of hagiography, as Barani* had shown earlier in his version of the story of Fuzayl* ibn `Iyaz* and Harun* al-Rashid*. Later documents from the Mughul period reveal the way in which royal donations fluctuated in accordance with the fortunes of Mughul imperial expansion. The royal appropriation of Sufi shrines as devices for legitimation led to the building of many royal mausolea found in or adjacent to Sufi shrines. By the time of the Nizams, special galleries for playing ritual court music were integrated into the architecture of all the major shrines of Khuldabad. The imperial institution, with its implicit quest for world dominion, would leave no comer neglected by its all-pervasive control.

Third, the writings of the Khuldabad Sufis indicate that they framed their spirituality in terms of the Islamic tradition. Chishti* Sufism is a phenomenon

thoroughly embedded in an Islamic milieu. Modem fundamentalist rhetoric decries what it sees as "un-Islamic" features in medieval Islamic culture, and Sufism is a convenient scapegoat. Disapproved Sufi activities (such as music and pilgrimage to shrines) are considered to be unfortunate concessions to the "Hindu" environment. Such an ideological interpretation is only possible if one refuses to read Sufi literature. The contents of an extensive Sufi bookshelf (Appendix A) are organized completely in terms of the Islamic religious sciences as studied in India in the fourteenth century. With approximately equal attention to authorities from each Islamic century, Rukn al-Din * Kashani* enumerated authorities in the main fields of religious thought, saving the Sufis as the pinnacle of this edifice. It may well be that some modem Muslim thinkers reject some or most of Islamic history as falling short of their ideal, but it is hard to see how the writings of the Khuldabad Sufis could be dismissed in toto as "un-Islamic." The oral teachings of the Chishtis* took on a form explicitly modeled on the transmission of the *hadith** reports of the Prophet. The *malfuzat** as a secondary canon had some of the charismatic power that *hadith** has when it still retains the aura of personal oral transmission. Their *shari`a**-minded prayer life, personal devotions, psychological discipline, and analysis of the interior life were all oriented toward the Qur'an* and the Prophet Muhammad*.

Yet the Sufi establishment of Khuldabad was not Islamic in a narrow or exclusivist sense. The Chishtis* were clearly Indianized; they used important materials of Indian origin (such as poetry in local languages) to build the edifice of their mystical culture. And as we have seen, despite the abstract symbolism that opposes Arabian Islam to an infidel "Hindu India," old Islamic traditions (preserved by Azad* Bilgrami*) insisted that India is a holy land for Muslims. Popular legends portray the miracles of the saints of Khuldabad, using reverent terms from the local Indian culture. Zar Zari* Zar Bakhsh won the devotion of the Hindu princess Sona* Ba'i* at a well, Ganj-i Ravan* imprisoned a demon and bestowed fertility, and Mu'min `Arif* protected cows. These and similar stories testify to the warm acceptance of these Sufi saints in this part of India; Indian spirituality embraced the memories of these Muslims and gave them a new life. On several levels, then, the Khuldabad Sufis may be called an instance of Indian Islam.

The burden of this book has been analysis, the distinction and separation of literary genres and historiographies. This analysis has been done, as far as possible, in terms of categories that were developed from the materials under consideration. Nonetheless, the categories of theory are always refined and abstracted so that there is inevitably a distance between the theorist's presentation and the phenomenon itself. But once that gap has been created, it is my belief that it is possible to go back to the texts themselves and experience them all the more richly, for they can now be restored with some confidence to their original political and historical context. There is, as Paul Ricoeur pointed out,

a "second naivete" that comes after one has demythologized a text. One can no longer accept the narrative with the simple wholeness that it once possessed, but with the aid of the analysis one can see the multiple layering of perspectives, the marvelous overlap of historiographies, that characterizes the density of historical imagination.

Many travelers will continue to pass by Khuldabad, both foreign tourists like Thevenot and indigenous pilgrims like Azad *. Stopping there for a moment, they might consider the enigma posed by this remote valley. Whose are the stately whitewashed tombs? The Sufi saints. Whose are the dark abandoned tombs? Kings unknown. The contrast is vivid and dramatic. To restore these scattered elements to unity, one could perhaps do no better than to quote the ode to Khuldabad by Wahida* Nasim*:

This world of light in the mountains' sweet embrace, this is the world's Mount Sinai for those with eyes to see.

One *Mu'min* settled here a world of knowledge, and here *Ganj-i Ravan** gave a world of blessing.

The lamp of the Chishtis* here is kindled by strong winds, here *Zar Zari** *Zar Bakhsh* scattered gold.

Till doomsday, seekers of knowledge will come here, so it seems these saints are the proof (*Burhan**) of Sufism.

*Zayn al-Din** adorned the master's court; his essence perfumed the master's garden.

The humble ones (*Khaksar**) gave it the gift of authority; how many kings have come here and bowed down to them!

The father of *Gisu** *Daraz** came bringing glory and passion; *Baha'** *al-Din**, the priceless pearl, came all alone.

The one whom empire ever looked on enviously [Burhan* al-Din* Gharib*] was set there as a precious stone by *Mahbub-i** *Ilahi** [Nizam* al-Din* Awliya'*].

This land sparkles with the light of Chishti* masters; this lawn glitters with sparks from the green dome.

The puffs of wind become gentle and breeze by; ablutions done, the cloud descends from the mountain.

*Hasan** *`Ala'-i** *Sanjar* chose to rest here; *Azad** left his home behind, but this garden suited him.

In this silent town Sufism's tavern lies; the domes remain a stranger to the changing times.

This valley is the trustee of the *Tughluq* treasure; the cries of *Khalji** caravans still echo here.

Since his nature was not sated by the Amberi Canal, *Malik `Anbar's* thirst brought him to your springs.

`Alamgir * [Awrangzib*] came to this same garden and found rest; this is the cradle in which sleep touched *Asaf** *Jah**.

Simplicity's glory was found in beauty's pride, when *Tana** *Shah's** nature was pacified.

*Nasim** comes destitute, bringing a gift of tears; give her, too, a full measure with the glance of grace.

Such is the fascination that Khuldabad still exerts. This book is a map of the many different stories that revolve around this center of medieval life. It will serve its purpose best not by championing one story over another, but by being used as a guide for an intellectual pilgrimage of a sort. If the visitor then can contemplate and admire the display, or *tamasha**, of south Asia's history, in all its rich complexity and contradiction, the journey will have been worthwhile.

PART V
APPENDIXES

Appendix A.
A Sufi Bookshelf: The Bibliography of Rukn al-Din * Dabir* Kashani*

The following bibliography was given by Rukn al-Din* Kashani* in *Shama'il* al-atqiya'* atqiyā'* to indicate all the sources used in his compilation, whether written or oral. This is probably the most complete listing of the religious and mystical literature in Arabic and Persian that was in general use in the Delhi sultanate. The categories by which the sources are classified are those used by Rukn al-Din*. Since he like most of his contemporaries used shorthand references, more complete annotation has been supplied from standard biobibliographical reference works, as follows:

GAS, GALS: Carl Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur,* 2 vols. plus *Supplementband,* 3 vols. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1937-49)

GAS: Fuat Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums,* vol. 1 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1967)

Lawrence, *Notes:* Bruce B. Lawrence, *Notes from a Distant Flute: The Extant Literature of Pre-Mughal Indian Sufism* (Tehran: Imperial Iranian Academy of Philosophy, 1978)

Munzawi*: Ahmad* Munzawi*, *Fihrist-i mushtarak-i nuskha-ha-yi* khatti-yi* farsi-yi* Pakistan*, vol. 3, *`Irfan** (Islamabad: Markaz-i Tahqiqat-i* Farsi-yi* Iran* u Pakistan*, 1363/1405/1984)

Nizami, *Thirteenth Century:* Khaliq Ahmed Nizami, *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in India in the Thirteenth Century* (2nd ed.)

Storey: C. A. Storey, *Persian literature: A Bio-Bibliographical Survey* (2 vols.; London: Luzac & Co., 1927-71)

Death dates have been taken from standard hagiographical works in Persian and Arabic. Some variants are noted in parentheses from MS 1197 Persian, Asiatic Society, Calcutta.

I. Qur'anic * Commentaries

1. Sulami*. Abu* `Abd al-Rahman* al-Sulami* (d. 412/1021). *Haqa'iq* al-tafsir** (Arabic: GAL I, 201; GALS I, 361). An important early Sufi Qur'an* commentary.

2. Qushayri*. Abu* al-Qasim* al-Qushayri* (d. 465/1072). *Lata'if* al-isharat** (Arabic: GAL I, 432; GALS I, 770), another Sufi Qur'an* commentary.

3. *Istighna**. Muhammad* al-Adfuwi* al-Misri* (d. 388/988). *al-Istighna* fi* `ulum* al-din**(Arabic: GAS I, 46), an early commentary in twenty volumes, of which only one survives.

4. *Kashshaf**. Zamakhshari* (d. 538/1144), the Mu`tazili* scholar. *al-Kashshaf `an* haqa'iq* al-tanzil** (Arabic: GAL I, 289; GALS I, 507).

5. Zahidi* Abu* Nasr* Ahmad* ibn al-Hasan* Sulaymani* al-Zaidi* (ca. 519/1125), a scholar from Bukhara. *Lata'if* al-tafsir** (Persian: Storey, I, 4; I, 1190).

6. *Basa'ir**. Muhammad* ibn Mahmud* al-Naysaburi* (ca. 529/1134), a scholar at the Ghaznavid court. *Tafsir-i* basa'ir-i* yamini** (Persian: Storey, I, 5).

7. `Azizi*. Possibly the undated work of Mulla* Husayn* Kashgari*, *Tafsir-i* `aziz** (Persian: Storey, I, 32, no. 40).

8. Mujahid*. Abu* al-Hajjaj* Mujahid* ibn Jabr al-Makki* (d. 104/722), a famous early commentator. *Tafsir** (Arabic: GAS I, 29).

9. *Taj* al-ma`ani** Abu* Nasr* Maqdisi*. *Taj* al-ma`ani** (Persian: known only as a source mentioned in the *tafsir** of Muhammad* ibn Husayn* al-Wa'iz* Jamal* al-Din* Astaji*, *Zad* al-rnuzakkirin**, written in 618/1221 in Samarqand [Storey, I, 5, gives his name as Saji*]; cf. Munzawi*, I, 55).

10. `Ayyashi*. Abu* Nasr* Muhammad* ibn Mas`ud* ibn `Ayyash* al-Sulami* al-Samarqandi* (ca. 300/923), a Shi`i* commentator. *Tafsir*sīr al-Ayyashi**, or *Tafsir* al-Sulami** (Arabic: GALS I, 334).

11. Zanjani*. Possibly `Izz al-Din* Ibrahim* ibn `Abd al-Wahhab* al-Zanjani* (d. 655/1257), Arabic grammarian (GAL I, 283; GALS I, 497). No commentary is attributed to him.

12. Jurayri*. Possibly Amir* `Izz al-Din* Muhammad* ibn Baha'* al-Din al-Juridi* (or al-Juri*), no date. *Kamil* al-tajwil** (Persian: Storey, I, 45, no. 7; I, 1223), a work on recitation. Alternatively this could be a Qur'anic* commentary by the Sufi Muhammad* al-Jurayri*Jurayrī (d. ca. 311/923).

13. *Ijaz**. Najm al-Din* al-Nisaburi* (ca. 553/1158). *Ijaz* al-bayan* fi* ma`ani* al-Qur'an** (Arabic: GALS I, 733).

14. *Tubfat * al-walad.* Not traced.

15. *Tuhfat* al-islam**.* Not traced.

16. *Mustakhlas**. Hafiz* al-Din* Bukhari* (d. 693/1294). *Mustakhlas** (Persian: Storey, I, 31, no. 22, n. 1 [hence not the work of Muhammad* Parsa*]; I, 1215), a glossary of the Qur'an*.

17. *Kashif** [*sic;* cited in the text as *Kashf al-asrar**]. Rashid* al-Din* al-Maybudi* (ca. 520/1126). *Kashf al-asrar** *wa `uddat al-abrar** (Persian: Storey, I, 1190), based on the Sufi commentary of `Abd Allah* Ansari* (no. 184, below).

18. Rafi`i*. Possibly `Abd al-Karim* al-Rafi`i* al-Qazwini* (d. 623/1226), a Shafi`i* jurist (GAL I, 383; GAS I, 678).

19. *Rumuz**. Rukn al-Din* Kashani*, the author of *Shama'il** *al-atqiya'**. *Rumuz** *al-walihin** (Persian); the work only survives in 68 citations in *Shama'il** *al-atqiya'**.

20. *Ghara'ib**. Cited in the text as *Tafsir-i* gharib**. Not traced.

II. Divine Sayings (*Kalimat-i* Qudsi), from the following sources and others**

21. *Mashariq* al-anwar**. Radi* al-Din* al-Husayn* al-Saghani* (d. 650/1252). *Mashariq* al-anwar** (Arabic: GAL I, 361; GALS I, 613). A *hadith** collection based on Bukhari* and Muslim.

22. *Athar-i* nayyarayn.* Possibly Abu* Muhammad* ibn al-Hasan* al-Shaybani* (d. 189/805), *Kitab* al-athar** (Arabic: GAS I, 430), a Hanafi* collection of *hadith**. Nizami (*Thirteenth Century,* p. 274, no. 15) lists the similarly entitled *Akhbar* al-nayyarayn* as a Sufi work.

III. Prophetic Sayings

23. *Mashariq* al-anwar**. See no. 21.

24. *Masabih**. Abu* Muhammad* al-Husayn* Mas`ud* al-Farra* al-Baghawi* (d. 516/1122). *Masabih* al-sunna* (Arabic: GAL I, 363-364; GALS I, 620).

25. *Sharh-i* mashariq**. Unspecified commentary on no. 21, "introduced for the sake of examples."

26. *Akhbar* wa athmar**. Not traced.

27. *Khawariq**. Not traced.

28. *Riyahin**. Not traced.

29. *Daqa'iq**. Muhyi* al-Din* al-Nawawi* al-Hawrani* (d. 676/1278). *Daqa'iq** (Arabic: GAL I, 394; GALS I, 682).

30. *Sahihayn**. The two classical *hadith** collections, both entitled *al-Sahih**. or "correct": Muhammad* Isma`il* ibn Ibrahim* al-Bukhari* (d. 255/869) and Muslim ibn Hajjaj* al-Qushayri* al-Nishapuri* (d. 261/875). (Arabic: GAL I, 160; GALS I, 265).

31. *Jami` * al-wusul**. Majd al-Din* Abu* Sa`adat* al-Mubarak* (d. 606/1209-10). *Jami`* al-wusul** (Arabic: GAL I, 357; GAL 11, 64), a study of *hadith**.

32. Sanaui*. Abu* Bakr `Abd al-Razzaq* ibn Hammam* al-Himyari* al-San'ani* (d. 211/827). *al-Musannaf* fi* al-hadith** (Arabic: GALS II, 333; GAS I, 99).

33. *Tafariq* al-sahih**. Not traced. Presumably a study of one of the works in no. 30.

IV. Significant Books

34. *Qut* al-qulub**. Abu* Talib* al-Makki* (d. 386/996). *Qut* al-qulub* fi* mu`amalat* al-mahbub**. (Arabic: GAS I, 667, 936). A classic source on Sufism.

35. Imam* Ghazali* (d. 505/1111). *Sirr Allah**. This particular title, attributed to the famous scholar, is not extant (GAL I, 419; GALS I, 744).

36. 'Ayn al-Quzat* Hamadani* (d. 525/1131). Writings. See nos. 97ff., below.

V. Sayings of the Companions and Successors of the Prophet

37. Abu* Bakr (d. 13/634).

38. `Umar (d. 23/644).

39. `Uthman* (d. 35/656).

40. `Ali* (d. 40/661).

41. Hasan* Basri* (d. 110/728).

42. Ibn `Abbas* (d. 68/687-88).

43. Imam* Ja`far al-Sadiq* (d. 148/765).

44. Abu* Hurayra (d. 57/676).

45. Uways Qarani* (d. 30/651).

VI. Traditions from Books of the Science of Dialectical Theology, which is Called the Divine Science, Containing the Descriptions of the Attributes and Essence of God

46. Abu* Hanifa* al-Nu`man* ibn Thabit* ("The Greatest Imam," d. 150/767). *Fiqh akbar* (Arabic: GAL I, 168; GALS I, 283). Famous credal statement attributed to the founder of a major school of law.

47. Hafiz* al-Din*, *`Aqida**. Abu* al-Barakat* `Abd Allah* Hafiz* al-Din* al-Nasafi* (d. 710/1310). *al-`Umda fi* al-`aqa'id** or *al-`Aqida* al-Hafiziyya** (Arabic: GAL II, 196; GALS II, 263). An important Sunni* credal statement.

48. Fakhr al-Din* Razi*, *Ma`alim**. Fakhr al-Din* al-Razi* (d. 606/1209). *al-Ma`alim* fi* usul* al-din** (Arabic: GAL I, 506, no.

5; GALS I, 921, no. 5). A work on principles of jurisprudence by the famous theologian.

49. *Saha'if* *. Shams al-Din* Muhammad* ibn Ashraf al-Husayni* al-Samarqandi* (ca. 690/1291). *al-Saha'if* al-ilahiyya** (Arabic: GAL I, 468; GALS I, 850), a work on dogmatic theology.

50. Nishapuri*, *Bidaya**. Not traced.

51. *Usul* sighar**. Not traced.

52. *Lamiyya**. Probably the *Lamiyyat* al-`ajam** of Mu'ayyad al-Din* al-Tughra'i* (d. 515/1121, GAL I, 247; GALS I, 439).

53. Nasafi*. *`Aqida**. Same as no. 47 above.

54. *Qawa'id**. Many works with this title.

55. Abu* Shakur* Salimi*, *Tamhidat**. Abu* Shakur* al-Salimi* (5th/11th cent.). *Kitab* al-tamhid* fi* bayan* al-tawhid** (Arabic: GAL I, 419; GALS I, 744), a theological treatise.

56. *Sharh-i* mantiqi** [*sic*]. Not traced.

57. Shihab* al-Din* Suhrawardi* (d. 632/1234). *I'lam* al-huda** (Arabic: GAL I, 436; GALS I, 789).

VII. Traditions from Significant Books of Jurisprudence, Decisions, and Tales of the Prophets

58. *Manzuma**. Probably *al-Manzuma* al-Nasafiyya fi* al-khilafiyya** (Arabic: GAL I, 428; GALS I, 761) by Najm al-Din* al-Nasafi* (d. 537/1142).

59. *Muttafaq* (or *Mustafta**). Not traced.

60. *Kanz*. Hafiz* al-Din* al-Nasafi* (no. 47 above). *Kanz al-daqda'iq* fi* al-furu`**, an abridgement of the same author's *al-Wafi**, a standard textbook on Hanafi* law (Arabic: GAL II, 196; GALS II, 265).

61. *Dhakhira**. Possibly the *Kitab* al-dhakhira* al-Burhaniyya** (GAL I, 375; GALS I, 642) of Burhan* al-Din* Mahmud* al-Bukhari* ibn Maza* (d. 573/1177), grandson of al-Sadr* al-Shahid* (no. 73).

62. *Mudammarat**. Not traced.

63. Ahmad* ibn Hanbal* (d. 241/855). *Musnad* (Arabic: GAL I, 181; GALS I, 309). Fundamental *hadith** collection.

64. Abu* al-Layth Samarqandi* (d. 373/983). *Bustan* al-faqih** (Arabic: GAL I, 196; GALS I, 347, GAS I, 449), a handbook on law.

65. *Jami`* al-saghir**. Abu* Muhammad* ibn al-Hasan* al-Shaybani* (no. 22). *al-Jami'* al-saghir** (Arabic: GAL I, 172; GAS I, 428), a popular work on Hanafi* law.

66. *Khizanat * al-fiqh.* Abu* al-Layth al-Samarqandi* (no. 64). Another legal work (Arabic: GAL I, 196; GALS I, 347, GAS I, 449).

67. *`Umdat al-fiqh.* Not traced.

68. *Sharh-i* ta`arruf.* A Persian commentary on the Sufi handbook *Kitab* al-ta`arruf li-madhhab ahl al-tasawwuf** (Arabic: GAS I, 668) of Muhammad* ibn Ishaq* al-Kalabadhi (d. 380/990).

69. *Usul* al-Shashi** Usually ascribed to Ishaq* ibn Ibrahim* al-Shashi* (d. 325/937), the *Usul* al-Shashi** (Arabic: GAL I, 174; GALS I, 294) is in fact by Nizam* al-Din* al-Shashi* (7th/13th cent.; cf. GAS I, 498, n. 1).

70. Husami*, *Usul**. Muhammad* al-Akhsikati* Husam* al-Din* (d. 644/1247). *Kitab* al-muntakhab fi* usul* al-madhhab,* known as *al-Husami** (Arabic: GAL I, 381; GALS I, 654), on jurisprudence.

71. Bazdawi*, *Usul**. Abu* al-Hasan* `Ali* ibn Muhammad* al-Pazdawi* (d. 482/1089; called al-Bazdawi* by Arabic sources). *Kanz al-wusul* ila* ma`rifat* al-usul** (Arabic: GAL I, 373; GALS I, 637), a widely used text on law.

72. *Mutawaffi** (or *Mustawfi**), the commentary on Bazdawi* (no. 71). This title not traced.

73. *Fatawa* kubra** Husam* al-Din* ibn Maza* al-Sadr* al-Shahid*al-Bukhari* (d. 536/1141). *al-Fatawa* al-kubra** (Arabic: GAL I, 374; GALS I, 640), a collection of legal responsa.

74. *Fatawa* Taysir**. Not traced.

75. *Qisas-i* Nikuh** (?—Persian for "good stories," possibly tales of the prophets); cited in the text in Persian (p. 261) as *Qisas-i* sanguya** or *sanguna** (?).

76. *Kifaya**. Many works with this title.

77. Sabuni*, *Bidaya**. Ahmad* ibn Mahmud* al-Sabuni* al-Bukhhri* (d. 580/1184). *al-Bidaya* rain al-kifaya**, an abridgement of his legal work *Kitab* al-kifaya* fi* al-hidaya** (Arabic: GAL I, 375; GALS I, 643).

VIII. Great Books of the Science of the Path and Reality from the Writings and Works of the Masters Possessing Saintship and the Saints Possessing Saintship

78. *Sirr al-nabi* dar `alam-i* jalal* wa jamal* wa khawass* wa ta'sir** (Persian). Not traced.

79. *`Ismat* al-anbiya'**. Fakhr al-Din* Razi* (above, no. 48); (Arabic: GAL I, 507; GALS I, 922, no. 14).

80. Abu * Nu`aym, *Hilyat* al-awliya'*. Abu* Nu`aym al-Isfahani* (d. 430/1038). *Hilyat* al-awliya'* (Arabic: GAL I, 362; GALS I, 617). A major biographical work on Sufis.

81. Imam* Ja`far al-Sadiq* (d. 148/765), sixth imam of the Shi`a* (GAL I, 220; GALS I, 104; GAS I, 528-531). *Wahy-i* asrar** (or *Asrar* al-wahy**, Arabic: GAS I, 530, no. 7).

82. Abu* Talib* Makki*. *Qut* al-qulub**. Same as no. 34 above.

83. *Tarjuma-i* qut* al-qulub**. Persian trans. of no. 34.

84. Muhammad* Tirmidhi* (d. ca. 932). *Khatm al-wilaya** (Arabic: GALS I, 356; GAS I, 653). A major early Sufi work.

85. *Tuqan* al-`arifin**. Not traced.

86. Shihab* al-Din* Suhrawardi* (no. 57, above). *`Awarif* al-ma`arif**, an important handbook of Sufi practice (Arabic: GAL I, 440; GALS I, 789).

87. *Tarjuma-i `awarif**. One of the numerous Persian translations of no. 86.

88. Najm al-Din* Razi* (d. 654/1256). *Mirsad* al-`ibad** (Persian). A well-known Sufi manual.

89. *`Unwan* al-mirsad** (Persian). Probably a summary or commentary on no. 88.

90. `Ali* Hujwiri* (d. 465/1072). *Kashf al-mahjub** (Persian). One of the first Persian Sufi manuals.

91. Imam* Ghazali* (no. 35). *Kimiya-i* sa`adat**. Ghazali's* own Persian reworking of his Arabic classic *Ihya'* `ulum* al-din**, on ethics and mystical religion.

92. *Tarjuma-i Qushayri**. Persian translation of the Sufi handbook, *al-Risala* al-Qushayriyya,* by Abu* al-Qasim* al-Qushayri* (no. 2).

93. *Fikrat al-asfiya'**. Not traced.

94. Imam* Ghazali* (no. 35). *Maqsad* al-aqsa** (Arabic: GALS I, 754, no. 53e).

95. Imam* Ghazali* (no. 35). *Kunuz* al-jawahir**. This title not traced to Ghazali*.

96. Farid* al-Din* `Attar* (d. ca. 617/1220). *Tazkirat al-awliya'**. Well-known Persian hagiography.

97. `Ayn al-Quzat* Hamadani* (d. 525/1131). *Tamhidat**. A classic Persian work on Sufism.

98. `Ayn al-Quzat* Hamadani*. *Tanzih* al-makan**.

99. `Ayn al-Quzat* Hamadani*. *Javid* nama**.

100. `Ayn al-Quzat* Hamadani*. *Rushd nama**.

101. `Ayn al-Quzat* Hamadani*. *Zubdat al-haqa'iq**. An Arabic work on metaphysics (GALS I, 675); often this title is mistakenly used for his Persian *Tamhidat**.

102. *Anis * al-arwah*. *Malfuzat** of `Uthman* Harwani* (d. 607/1211) (Persian).

103. *Dalil* al-`arifin*. *Malfuzat** of Mu`in* al-Din* Sijzi* (d. 633/1236) (Persian).

104. *Fawa'id* al-salikin*. *Malfuzat** of Qutb* al-Din* Bakhtiyar* Kaki* (d. 633/1235) (Persian).

105. *Rahat* al-qulub*. *Malfuzat** of Farid* al-Din* Ajodhani* (d. 664/1265) (Persian).

106. *Asrar* al-mutahayyarin*. *Malfuzat** of Farid* al-Din* Ajodhani* (no. 105) (Persian).

107. *Fawa'id* al-fu'ad*. *Malfuzat** of Nizam* al-Din* Bada'oni* (d. 725/1325) (Persian).

108. *Nafa'is* al-anfas*. *Malfuzat** of Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* (d. 738/1337) (Persian).

109. `Ali* Bihari*. *Zahidi** Not traced.

110. *Sawanih*. *Ahmad** Ghazali* (d. 517/1123, brother of no. 35). Classic Persian treatise on love.

111. *Sirr allah** (Persian). Same as no. 35 above.

112. *Ruh*. *al-arwah*. Mir* Husayni* Sadat* (d. 728/1328). A popular Persian work on Sufism (Lawrence, *Notes,* p. 103, n. 73).

113. Baha*' al-Din*, successor to Shaykh Kabir*. *Khulasat* al-haqa'iq** (Arabic). Not traced.

114. Imam* Ghazali* (no. 35). *`Unwan**. Not traced.

115. Qazi* Hamid* al-Din* Nagawri* (d. 643/1246). *Tawali`* al-shumus** (Lawrence, *Notes,* p. 60). A Persian commentary on the names of God.

116. Qazi* Hamid* al-Din* Nagawri*. *Sawanih** (Persian). Not extant.

117. Qazi* Hamid* al-Din* Nagawri*. *Lawami`** (Persian). Not extant.

118. Qazi* Hamid* al-Din* Nagawri*. *Maqasid** (Persian). Not extant.

119. *`Umda-i Junaydi** Not traced.

120. *Mukhtasar-i* ihya'* al-ulum**. An abridgement of the *ihya'* `ulum* al-din** of al-Ghazali* (no. 35).

121. *`Umdat al-asrar**. Not traced.

122. *Kashf al-asrar**. Same as no. 17, though in the text (p. 359) it is once unaccountably confused with the Arabic work of the same title by Ruzbihan* Baqli* (d. 606/1209).

123. Abu* Sa`id* Abu* al-Khayr (d. 440/1049). *Asrar* al-abrar** (?). Possibly a mistake for the *Asrar* al-tawhid**, a collection of biographical anecdotes about this famous Sufi.

124. *Sukut* al-`arifin**. Not traced.

125. *Asrar* al-`arifin**. Not traced.

126. *Tawqi`* al-arifin**. Not traced.

127. *Siraj* al-`arifin**. Not traced.

128. *Adab * al-muridin** (Arabic: GAL I, 436; GALS I, 780). The well-known manual for novices by Abu* al-Najib* al-Suhrawardi* (d. 563/1168).

129. *Adab* al-muhaqqiqin**. Not traced.

130. *Ma`rifat al-muridin**. Not traced.

131. Mawlana* Rum* [a mistake for Jalal* al-Din* Rumi's* father, Baha'* al-Din* Walad, d. 628/1231]. *Ma`arif** (Persian), a treatise on Sufism.

132. *Hidayat* al-dhakirin**. Not traced.

133. *Anis* al-ta'ibin** (Persian). A treatise by the Sufi Abu* Nasr* Ahmad-i* Jam* Zhinda-pil* Namiqi* (d. 536/1141-42).

134. *Asbab* al-maghfirat**. Not traced.

135. *Majma` al-aqa'iq**. Not traced.

136. Shams al-`Arifin*. *Qiwam* al-`aqa'id**. Not traced.

137. Rukn al-Din* Kashani*. *Rumuz* al-walihin** (Persian). Same as no. 19.

138. Hammad* al-Din* Kashani*. *Husul* al-wusul** (Persian). Only extant in six quotations in *Sharna'il* al-atqiya'**.

139. Hammad* al-Din* Kashani*. *Asrar* al-tariqat** (Persian). Only extant in five quotations in *Shama'il* al-atqiya'**.

140. Muhammad Kashani*. *Hujjat* al-islam* fi* jarh* al-`uzzan**. Not traced.

141. *Sharf-i faqr*. Not traced.

142. *Guzida** (Persian). Not traced.

143. *Madarik**. Not traced.

144. *Bawariq* al-ilma`** (Arabic: GAL I, 426; GALS I, 756). Ahmad* al-Ghazali* (no. 100). A defense of listening to music.

145. Sayyid Badr al-Din*. *Arba`in**. Untraced. A common title for collections of forty (*arba`in**) *hadith**, this title is also cited in the text in Persian (p. 196) with the authorship of Mawlana* Sadid* `Awfi* (d. 625/1228).

146. *Siraj* al-muridin**. Not traced.

147. Imam* Ghazali* (no. 35). *Sa`adat* nama** (Persian). Not traced.

148. *Nur-i* nazir**. Not traced.

149. Amir* Khusraw. *Rahat* al-muhibbin**. *Malfuzat** of Nizam* al-Din* (no. 107). (Persian).

150. *Ruh* al-arwah**. Same as no. 112.

151. *Khulasat* al-haqa'iq**. Same as no. 113. Not traced.

IX. Brief and Abbreviated Treatises of the Ancients and Moderns Specifying the Name of the Book

152. *Munajat-i* lutf-i jalal* wa jamal**. Not traced.

153. Khwaja * Khizr*. *Munajat-i* mihtar Musa** [*Prayers of the Prophet Moses*] (Persian). Not traced.

154. Treatise of Khwaja* Bayazid* Bistami* (d. 261/875) (GAS I, 645).

155. Treatise of Ghawth al-A`zam* [i.e., `Abd al-Qadir* Gilani*, d. 561/1167] (GAL I, 435, GALS I, 777).

156. Imam* Ghazali*. *Sirr Allah**. Same entry as no. 35.

157. Treatise of Khwaja* `Abd Allah* ibn Khafif* (d. 371/981; GAS I, 663).

158. Treatise of Sultan* Ibrahim* ibn Adham (d. 163/779).

159. Treatise of Khwaja* Hubayra Basri*, seventh master in the Chishti* lineage.

160. Treatise of Khwaja* `Alu* Dinawari*, eighth master in the Chishti* lineage.

161. Treatise of Khwaja* Junayd (d. 298/910; GAS I, 647).

162. Treatise of Khwaja* Shibli* (d. 334/946; GAS I, 660).

163. Treatise of Khwaja* Ma`ruf* Karkhi* (d. 200/815; GAS I, 637).

164. Treatise of Shaykh Baraka, master of `Ayn al-Quzat* (d. 525/1131).

165. Treatise of Husayn* Mansur* [al-Hallaj*] (d. 309/922; GAS I, 651).

166. Treatise of Imam* Haddadi*. Possibly Abu* Hafs* Haddad* (d. 264/877-88).

167. Treatise of Khwaja* Yusuf* Hamadani* (d. 535/1140-41).

168. Treatise of Shaykh Najm al-Din* Kubra* (d. 618/1221).

169. Treatise of Khwaja* Sahl Tustari* (d. 283/896; GAS I, 647).

170. Treatise of Shaykh Sari* Saqati* (d. 253/867).

171. Treatise of Khwaja* Abu* Bakr Wasiti* (d. 320/932) (GAS I, 659).

172. Treatise of Shaykh Abu* al-Hasan* [sc. al-Husayn*] Nuri* (d. 295/907) (GAS I, 650).

173. Treatise of Shaykh Jamal* al-Din* Hanswi* (d. ca. 664/1265-66).

174. Treatise of Rifa`i*, son of Sidi* Ahmad*. Evidently Ahmad* al-Rifa`i* (d. 578/1182) (GALS I, 780).

175. Treatise of Shaykh `Ali* Rudbari* (d. 322/934).

176. Treatise of Khwaja* Abu* al-Faraj Zanjani*. Not traced.

177. Treatise of Khwaja* Muhammad* Hariri* [Jurayri*? Cf. no. 12].

178. Treatise of Khwaja* [Abu*] Sulayman* Darani* (d. 215/830-31).

179. Treatise of Khwaja* [Ibn] Sirin* (d. d. 110/729) (GAS I, 665).

180. Treatise of Khwaja* Makhul*. Abu* Muti`* Makhul* ibn al-Fadl* al-Nasafi* (d. 318/930) (GAS I, 601).

181. Treatise of Shaykh Abu* Musa* Abu* al-Khayr (possibly a mistake for no. 123).

182. Treatise of Shaykh Abu * `Uthman* Maghribi* (d. 373/983) (GAS I, 665).

183. *Hahiya-i* zubdat al-haqa'iq** [comm. on no. 101] (Persian).

184. Treatise of Khwaja* `Abd Allah* Ansari* (d. 481/1089) (Storey, I, 924).

185. Treatise of Shaykh Muhyi* al-Din* [ibn] `Arabi* (d. 638/1240) (GAL I, 441).

186. Treatise of Shaykh Jibra'il*. Not traced.

187. Treatise of Khwaja* Shayda*. Not traced.

188. *Dibacha-i* kashf.* Not traced.

189. Treatise of Shaykh Sharaf al-Din* Panipati*. Better known as Bu* `Ali* Shah* Qalandar (d. 724/1324).

190. Treatise of Shams al-haqq*, Khwaja* Shams al-Din*. Not traced.

191. Treatise of Mawlana* Qutb* al-Din*. Not traced.

192. *Risala-i* gharib**. Not traced.

193. *Risala-i* Hamidi**. Not traced.

194. *Risala-i* Sa`idi**. Not traced.

195. Treatise of Khwaja* [Ziya'* al-Din*] Nakhshabi* (d. 751/1350), a poet connected to the Chishti* order (Lawrence, *Notes,* pp. 42-44).

196. *Maqsad* al-aqsa**. `Aziz* al-Din* Nasafi* (d. 661/1263). A well-known Persian Sufi treatise.

197. *Munkasar al-qulub**. Not traced.

X. Sayings of the Masters in God, the Elite Saints, and other Realizers of Truth

198. Saying of the Prophet Khizr*.

199. Saying of Khwaja* Fuzayl* `Iyaz* (d. 187/802) (GAS I, 636).

200. Saying of Sultan* Ibrahim* Adham (no. 158).

201. Saying of Khwaja* Bayazid* (no. 154).

202. Saying of Khwaja* Junayd (no. 161).

203. Saying of Shaykh Shibli* (no. 162).

204. Saying of Khwaja* Dhu* al-Nun* Misri* (d. 246/861) (GAS I, 643).

205. Saying of Abu* Yusuf* Qazi* (d. 182/798) (GAS I, 419).

206. Saying of Bishr Hafi* (d. 227/841) (GAS I, 638).

207. Saying of Khwaja* Shaqiq* Balkhi* (d. 194/810).

208. Saying of Imam* `Abd Allah* Sulami* (no. 1).

209. Saying of Imam* Malik* Diner* (d. 137/748) (GAS I, 634).

210. Saying of Shaykh Abu* al-Hasan* [i.e., al-Husayn*] Nuri* (no. 172).

211. Saying of Rabi`a* Basri* (d. 185/801).

212. Saying of Khwaja * Husayn* Mansur* (no. 165).

213. Saying of Khwaja* Sahl Tustari* (no. 169).

214. Saying of Khwaja* Yahya* Mu`adh* (d. 258/872) (GAS I, 644).

215. Saying of Shaykh Abu* Sa`id* Abu* al-Khayr (no. 123).

216. Saying of Khwaja* Sulayman* Darani* (no. 178).

217. Saying of Khwaja* Sari* Saqati* (no. 170).

218. Saying of Shaykh `Uthman* Harwani* (no. 102).

219. Saying of Shaykh Mu`in* al-Din* Sijzi* (no. 103).

220. Saying of Shaykh Qutb* al-Din* Bakhtiyar* Kaki* (no. 104).

221. Saying of Shaykh Farid* al-Din* Ajodhani* (no. 105).

222. Saying of Shaykh Nizam* al-Din* Bada'oni* (no. 107).

223. Saying of Shaykh Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* (no. 108).

224. Saying of Zayn al-Din* Da'ud* Husayn* Shirazi* (d. 771/1369).

225. Saying of Shaykh Ghiyath* al-Din*. Not traced.

226. Saying of Khwaja* `Abd Allah* [ibn] Mas`ud* (d. 32/653).

227. Saying of Khwaja* `Abd Allah* Ansari* (no. 184).

228. Saying of Shaykh Abu* Bakr Warraq* (d. 280/893) (GAS I, 646).

229. Saying of Khwaja* Abu* `Ali* Daqqaq* (d. ca. 406/1015).

230. Saying of Khwaja* Namiqi* (no. 133).

231. Saying of Shaykh Jibra'il*. Not traced.

232. Saying of Khwaja* Abu* Bakr Tamistani* (d. 340/951-52).

233. Saying of Khwaja* [Abu*] `Uthman* Hiri* (d. 298/910-11).

234. Saying of Khwaja* Abu* Sa`id* Kharraz* (d. 279/892) (GAS I, 646).

235. Saying of Qays Sa`ida*. Possibly the pre-Islamic orator Qays ibn Sa`ida*.

236. Saying of Imam* Muhammad* Ghazali* (no. 35).

237. Saying of Khwaja* `Abd Allah* Mubarak* (d. 181/797) (GAS I, 95).

238. Saying of Wahb ibn Munabbih (d. 110/728) (GAS I, 305).

239. Saying of Rabi`a* `Adawiya* (no. 211).

240. Saying of Shaykh Abu* `Ali* Juzjani* (d. ca. 353/964).

241. Saying of Khwaja* Ahmad* [Muhammad*] Ma`shuq* (5th/11th cent.).

242. Saying of Abu* Tayyib* Sijzi*. Not traced.

243. Saying of Shaykh `Ali* Jurjani* (repetition of no. 240?).

244. Saying of Ibn `Ata*' (d. 309/922).

245. Saying of Khwaja* `Abd Allah* Matari*, Treasurer of the Prophet. Not traced.

246. Saying of Khwaja* Sumnun* Muhibb* (d. 287/900).

247. Saying of Jalali*. Not traced.

248. Saying of Khwaja* Ruwaym (d. 303/915).

249. Saying of Khwaja * Muhammad* Sulaymani* Not traced.

250. Saying of Khwaja* Muhammad* Sahl Sa'id*. Not traced.

251. Saying of Makhdum* Sayyid Jalal* Bukhari* (d. 785/1383).

252. Saying of Amir* Ya`qub* Susani* [Susi*] (d. ca. 300/912).

253. Saying of Mawlana* Sadid* `Awfi* (no. 145).

254. Saying of Khwaja* Qasim*. Not traced.

255. Saying of the old wife of Khwaja* Zaki* Not traced.

256. Saying of Khwaja* Abu* al-Hasan* Salim*. Not traced.

257. Sayings of other realizers of the truth whose names are not known; since they are realizers of the truth, [the sayings] are written.

Appendix B.
A Fifteenth-Century Revenue Memorandum

The text of the following document is appended to MS of *Ahsan * al-Aqwal** by Hammad* al-Din* Kashani*, collection of Fariduddin Saleem, Khuldabad, pp. 149-57 (MS copied by Fayz* Muhammad* son of Hafiz* Muhammad* Amin*, 27 Rabi`* II, 6th Regnal Year of Farrukhsiyar [1130/30 March 1718]). For a discussion, see Part III, chap. 10, above, and Tables 4 and 5.

Text

Memoir of the manner of the coming of Shaykh al-Islam* wa al-Muslimin*, Qutb* al-Aqtab* wa al-Muhaqqiqin*, the revered Sultan Burhan* al-Din*, from the city of Delhi at the command of the revered Shaykh al-Islam* Sultan al-Mashayikh* Nizam* al-Haqq* wa al-Din* to the city of Daulatabad. He came down in the year 719 [1319-20] and alighted in the house of Malik Mubarak* Shams al-Mulk. Then in 731 [1330-31], his relatives [p. 150] came from Delhi to Daulatabad. Khwand* Kaka* told Sultan Burhan* al-Din* that his relatives had come from Delhi. The revered Sultan Burhan* al-Din* said, "Where were my relatives when we were eating *lubiya** beans and leftovers (*kunjara**?[1] Tell them to go back. Relatives have no connection to my house. Our relatives and children are our devotees and master's descendants (*mawla-zadagan**)." Because of these words, his relatives chose to attend on him and take up [his] service.

[1] Although Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* here is made to complain of *lubiya** beans and leftovers, elsewhere it is said that he preferred these humble foods to almonds and sweets (*Shama'il* al-atqiya'**, p. 154).

After some years Miyan * Latif* al-Din* was sitting in his house, relying on God, when the revered Sultan Burhan* al-Din* suffered a very severe illness. He summoned all the lovers to his presence, and said to Kaka* Shad Bakhsh, "I have nothing of my own, and it is [a question of] money[2] for the *`urs* of the revered Shaykh al-Islam Nizam* al-Haqq* wa al-Din*. Out of my own [money] I cannot manage, and there will be expenses for the *`urs.* Two people from the group contributed something, but I have nothing to do with that either." Then he turned toward Kaka* and said, "Some *tankas*[3] are here, and a wool cloak, and robes of *bahiram** (?). Give those robes, money, and fruit to the lovers, and give the one wool cloak separately to Mawlana* Latif* al-Din*,[4] and divide up some of the other robes and present them to the devotees. This is a covenant with you, for you do not save anything." [p. 151] This account is written in *Nafa'is** *al-anfas**.[5]

Later, the revered Burhan* al-Din* passed on in 738 [1337]. After the passing away of the revered Sultan Burhan* al-Din*, Khwand* Kaka* for nine

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[2] Reading *sim** rather than *siyum,* which would have meant, "It is the third [day] of the *`urs."* But Nizam* al-Din's* *`urs* is celebrated on the 17th of Rabi`* II, and this conversation took place a couple of weeks before the anniversary, on the first of the month; cf. Mir* Khwurd, *Siyar al-awliya'**, p. 165.

[3] The silver *tanka,* during the reign of Sultan Muhammad* ibn Tughluq, was the basic coin of the realm, about fifty of which were equivalent to the gold *tanka.*

[4] This nephew and disciple of Burhan* al-Din* Gharib*, whose family figures so prominently in the memorandum and in the shrine's history, was entrusted with overseeing supplies in the khanqah*, and was known for his piety (Azad*, *Rawiat** *al-awliya'**, pp. 40-41). The beginning sentence of this account, which places Latif* al-Din* in a prominent position, does not occur in the text of *Nafa'is** *al-anfas**, but may have been inserted to enhance his role.

[5] This episode closely follows the 23rd Majlis (1 Rabi`* 1I, 735) of Rukn al-Din* Kashani's* *Nafa'is** *al-anfas** (p. 92ff.), but with significant changes. Rukn al-Din* Kashani* introduces this as Burhan* al-Din's* testament (*wasiyat**) following upon a long illness from which he did not expect to recover. After arranging for the expenses of the open kitchen, he spoke as follows: "`Life is not to be depended upon, and it gives me great sorrow that consumes me inside. I have called you so that you may hear that Kaka* has received nothing of mine. For the *`urs* of Shaykh al-Islam Nizam* al-Din*, out of my own [money] I cannot manage, and there will be expenses for the *`urs.* There are not two other people from the group who have contributed anything. But I have nothing to do with that either.' Then he turned toward the revered Kaka*, saying, 'I have a few *tankas* in my possession, and a wool cloak and robes of *bahiram**. Give the robe, the *bahiram** [i.e., the robes of *bahiram**], the fruit, and all the food to the lovers. There is one woolen cloak; give it to Mawlana* Latif* al-Din*. [p. 93] Divide up some of those robes and present them to the devotees. It is a covenant for you, if you [do not] save anything.'" The major difference between the two texts is that the memorandum version eliminates any reference to Burhan* al-Din* personally owning any money or possessions. That omission in Burhan* al-Din's* first sentence contradicts his later order to distribute his possessions. The whole point of the episode in the original *maifuzat** version is that he is giving away everything in order to support the *`urs,* and he is encouraging others to do likewise. Even more striking, in view of the main subject of this document, is the omission of Burhan* al-Din's* speech immediately following this episode (*Narfa'is** *al-anfas**, p. 93), in which he warns his followers that they must avoid gifts from kings if they wish to stay on his path.

years [up to 747/1346-47] kept the work of administration (*tawliyat*) going, whatever currency (*rawish*) [was] included in [the property] of Sultan Burhan * al-Din* or [was] extra: kinds of money of gold and silver, small change (*khwur-da*), gold coins, wool cloaks (*suf**), scarlet cloth (*saqallat**), fine robes (*jama**), and with the currency of the tombs, such as [those of] Mawlana* Badr al-Din* Naw-lak'ha, the Five Ladies (*pañch bibiyan**), Mawlana* Amir* Hasan* Dihlawi*, Mawlana* Zahir* al-Din* B'hakkari*, Mawlana* Kamal* al-Din* Sahib* al-Khayrat*, etc.; ritual objects (lit., "the adornment of the presence," *arayish-i* hazrat**): lamp oil, cool water for the fingers (*ab-i* angusht-i sard*), sweets, raw and cooked fruit, animal victuals—whatever came as unsolicited gift (*feutuh**) he divided among the devotees (*bandagan**) [and] *mawla-zadagan** of the revered Sultan Burhan* al-Din*. In this way he keeps the work going. Kaka* told Khwaja* Rashid* al-Din* [to continue], and the Khwaja* also kept this same work going faithfully.

After the passing away of the Khwaja*,[6] the emperor (*padshah**) Sultan Muhammad* Hasan*[7] came to the city of Daulatabad to make pilgrimage to the shrine (*rawza**) of Sultan Burhan* al-Din*. The devotees and *mawla-zadagan** were all present. The Sultan glanced at them and asked the wazir, "Do they have something assigned to them from the treasury suitable to their merit, or not?" The wazir said no. Then the Sultan said, "Let them, in lieu of a daily 'prayer ration' (*badal-i wazifa-i* ruzina**), be assigned 2 ½ *mann*[8] of fruit, of meat [p. 152] I *mann* and 10 *sir**[9] with animal fat, and necessities (*lawazima**),[10] against the taxes of the town (*bar baj-i* qasba**)." Then it was assigned and written against the taxes of the town. They came before the revered leader Shaykh Zayn al-Din* and informed him. The revered leader Shaykh Zayn al-Din* said, "Did you ask for it? For in our order (*khanwada**) there is no asking [for gifts]. But if they bring it without being asked, it should not be passed by, as it is said: 'No refusing, no asking, no saving (*la* radd wa la* kadd wa la* madd*).' So take this that you have brought and divide it among you."

Later the devotees and *mawla-zadagan** brought someone who had sent a sum for annual 'prayer ration' (*mablagh-i wazifa-i* salyana**) before the revered leader Shaykh Zayn al-Din* and explained it. The revered leader Shaykh Zayn al-Din* assented, saying to Mawlana* Muhammad* Lashkari*, "We appoint you their trustee and attendant (*mutawalli* wa khadim**). Whatever currency there is in unsolicited gifts from the shrine of the revered Sultan Burhan* al-Din*, the

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[6] According to information given below, Rashid* al-Din* held the office of trustee for seven years, so his death took place ca. 754/1353-34.

[7] Muhammad* ibn Hasan*, the second Bahmani* sultan (r. 759/1358-776/1375).

[8] A *mann* (Anglo-Indian "maund") is a weight usually of about forty pounds.

[9] The *sir** ("seer") is about two pounds.

[10] The term "necessities" (*lawazima**) appears to refer to an extra cash benefit of some kind, since some of the rations include it and others do not.

shrine of the revered Shah * Muntajib al-Din*, and the other tombs, divide it and convey it to the devotees and *mawla-zadagan**, just as Kaka* conveyed it. Now all the devotees and others, consider among yourselves, if a sum or prayer ration of cooked and raw food has been divided and I take some, it is not good. Let us cook it in the kitchen of the revered Sultan [Burhan* al-Din* Gharib*] and, after honoring the visitor and traveler [by feeding them first], let us take what is left over and divide it among ourselves. Then let *fatiha** and a *khatm* [complete Qur'an* recitation] be done to the spirit of the revered Sultan [Burhan* al-Din*] and all the family (*khandan**) of the Chishti* masters, [p. 153] and let a petition for wants (*istimdad-i* khwasta**) be given with the *fatiha**, for the sake of the well-being of the emperor and the Muslims."

After a few years, Khwaja* Muhammad* Lashkari* died. He gave the administration of the *khanqah**, the devotees, and the *mawla-zadagan** to Khwaja* Sharaf al-Din*, son-in-law of Khwaja* `Abd al-Rashid*. Khwaja* Sharaf al-Din* also kept the work of administration of the revered shrines going for some years. After his passing away, Khwaja* Bara, son-in-law of the former Khwaja* [`Abd al-Rashid*], was given the administration. During his time, the mother of Miyan* Latif* al-Din*[11] performed the *`urs* of the revered Sultan [Burhan* al-Din* Gharib*]. She invited the devotees and *mawla-zadagan**. After paying for the *`urs,* the revered lady said, "You are all my brothers. You too, if the revered Sultan Burhan* al-Din* gave us [a place] in his khanqah*, you give us a place among you." Then all the devotees and *mawla-zadagan** agreed. They had a daily ration of ½ *mann* of fruit and 10 *sir** of raw meat, without necessities, given out [to her] from the customs house (*khana-i* mu'addiyan**).[12]

Several years passed in this way. When Sultan Mujahid* Shah* was crowned,[13] from the devotees and others, Mawlana* Da'ud* and Mawlana* Musa* with a few other lovers took relics (*tabarruk*),[14] food offerings [lit. "bread crumbs," *nan-riza**, from the shrine], and a turban for Sultan Mujahid* Shah*. After honoring him with the food offerings and turban, they asked the Sultan to increase the prayer ration. Due to their request, he ordered the assignment of a daily prayer ration of 7 ½ *mann* of fruit, of meat 3 *mann* 30 *sir** with animal fat, and necessities. [p. 154] At that time Miyan* Fazl* Allah* ibn Miyan* Latif* al-Din* was there. He too was given ½ *mann* of fruit and 10 *sir** of raw

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[11] This would be the sister of Burhan* al-Din* Gharib*.

[12] The phrase "customs house" is a loose equivalent; the *mu'addi-i* maliyat** was an official expected to protect and keep up the roads, in return for which the government granted him the right to accept a yearly salary in cash and kind from imposts; of. Amir* Jalal* al-Din* Ghaffari*, *Farhang-i Ghaffari** (Tehran: Danishgah*, 1337), VII, 321.

[13] `Ala' al-Din* Mujahid*, third Bahmani* sultan (r. 77611375-779/1378).

[14] Literally "blessing," this probably means here sacred relics and food offerings distributed at the shrine during the *`urs,* some of which is saved for presentation to selected persons like the king.

meat from the customs house. At that time the *t'hana-dar* * [governor] of the region of Daulatabad was Malik Raja Faruqi*.[15] He made Khwaja* Bara trustee.

When Sultan `Ala'* al-Din* was there,[16] the devotees Mawlana* Ghiyas* al-Din* and Mawlana* Jamal* al-Din* brought relics, food offerings, and a turban before the Sultan. After honoring him with the food offerings and the rest, they requested an increase in the prayer ration. Due to their request, he ordered an assignment of a daily ration of 15 *mann* of fruit, 7 ½ *mann* of meat with animal fat, and necessities, against the taxes of government income (*bar baj-i* samt-i dawlat*).

At that time, the relatives of Miyan* Qadan ibn Fazl* Allah*, the grandson of Miyan* Latif* al-Din*, conferred the service of administration on Miyan* `Abd al-`Aziz*. In that period the *t'hana-dar** was Malik Sharaf Parviz*. Just so, he conferred on the relatives a daily ration of ½ *mann* of fruit and of raw meat 10 *sir**, without necessities, from the customs house.

When the coronation of Humayun* Shah* took place,[17] the devotees Shaykh Mawlana* Fazl* Allah* and Mawlana* Chandan and Mawlana* Musa* took relics, food offerings, and a turban for the Sultan. After honoring him with the food offerings and the rest, they asked for an increase in the prayer ration. Because of their request, he assigned one *k'handi**[18] five *mann* [p. 155] of fruit and of mutton with fat 25 *sir**,[19] with necessities. He conferred on the shrine of the revered Shah* Muntajib al-Din* and the shrine of Amir* Hasan* Dihlawi* a daily ration of 19 *tankas* by way of prayer ration for the devotees and attendants. In that time the *t'hdna-dar** was Malik Muhammad* Parviz* and the trustee was Miyan* Chaman Sufi*. They gave the relatives ½ *mann* of fruit and

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[15] The founder of the kingdom of Khandesh (r. 772/1370-801/1399). As Mahdi* Hussain pointed out, the Faruqis* were originally governors under the Bahmanis* and not under the Tughluq emperor in Delhi; see his "A Short History of Khandesh," *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society* 5 1 (1960-61), esp. pp. 122-26. The term *t'hanah-dar** corresponds to the term *taraf-dar** used in the Bahmani* kingdom to denote the four governors of the four *atraf** or provinces; cf. H. K. Sherwani, "Bahmanis*," EI^2 1 (1960), 923-25, esp. 924.

[16] Sultan `Ala'* al-Din* Ahmad* II, tenth Bahmani* Sultan (r. 839/1436-862/1458). The encounter described here appears to have taken place at the sultan's visit to the shrine, rather than at his coronation. `Ala'* al-Din* had married a princess of the Faruqi* house (Firishta [Nawal Kishor* ed.] II, 280), and must have been keenly aware of the relationship between Burhanpur and Khuldabad; the Bahmanis*' bequests to the shrine may even have been in direct competition with the Faruqis*' donations.

[17] `Ala'* al-Din* Humayun*, the eleventh Bahmani* sultan (r. 862/1458-865/1461). According to Malkapuri* (*Salatin**, p. 556) no proper coronation took place, due to revolt.

[18] The *k'handi** variously rendered in English as "candy," "candie," or "kandy," was a large weight of twenty *mann,* or nearly 500 pounds. The present increase is thus from 15 to 25 *mann* of fruit.

[19] One suspects that a figure has been left out here, perhaps "10 *mann,*" that would have represented an increase in the amount of meat over the endowment of `Ala' al-Din*, which was 7 ½ *mann.*

10 *sir* * of raw meat from the customs house, up to the time of Muhammad* Shah*.

When the coronation of Muhammad* Shah* took place,[20] the devotees and *mawla-zadagan** of the revered Sultan [Burhan* al-Din*], such as Mawlana* Rashid* and others, took relics, food offerings, and a turban. After honoring him with the food offering, they requested an increase in the prayer ration, so that the attendants of the court (*dargah**) of the revered Shah* should rest easy, and at the five prayer times they would be occupied in praying for the welfare of the emperor. Because of the Mawlana's* request, he conferred several villages (*qaryat**) on the two shrines; he named three villages (*dih*): the town (*mawza`**) of Sayur* in Kandapur* district (*pargana**), and the towns of Chekli* and Maliwari*. For the shrine of the revered Shah* Muntajib al-Din*, for the sake of the prayer ration of the devotees and *mawla-zadagan**, he gave 10 *tankas* to the service of that shrine.

At that time the *t'hana-dar** was Malik Parviz*[21] and the trustee Miyan* Muhammad* Chaman, the Qazi* of the shrine was Qazi* Jalal* al-Din* Tusi*; after them, the Qazi* was Shaykh Miyan* Jalal* al-Din*, [and] Miyan* Bara-i Qadan,[22] the sons of Miyan* [p. 156] Latif* al-Din*. To them too he assigned ½ *mann* of fruit and 10 *sir** of meat, without necessities. In the same way it was conveyed from the customs house.

When the coronation of Mahmud* Shah* took place,[23] at that time he made Malik Wajih* *t'hana-dar**, and Miyan* Muhammad* trustee, and Qazi* Shaykhun was qazi* of the shrine. In the same way he assigned to Miyan* Bara ½ *mann* of fruit and 10 *sir** of meat, which they conveyed without necessities from the customs house. Since in the noble age of the late Humayun* there were such *t'hana-dars** and trustees, so to the offspring of Mawlana* Latif* al-Din* ½ *mann* of fruit and 10 *sir** of raw meat was conveyed from the customs house.[24]

Names of the Governors (*t'hana-dars**), Trustees, and Treasurers (*mushrifs*).

Governor: Qutb* al-Din*
Trustee: Miyan* Manan*
Treasurer: Manjhu*

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[20] Shams al-Din* Muhammad* III, the thirteenth Bahmani* sultan (r. 867/1463-887/1482).

[21] Malik Parviz* was the governor of Daulatabad under the previous sultan, and he surrendered the fort in 867/1462 to Sultan Mahmud* Khalji* of Malwa; cf. U. N. Day, *Medieval Malwa,* p. 157.

[22] Miyan* Bara (or possibly Bizha) Qadan, who flourished from the 1460s through the 1480s, is to be distinguished from Khwaja* Bara, whom Malik Raja Faruqi* confirmed as trustee in the late 1300s.

[23] Shahab* al-Din* Mahmud*, fourteenth Bahmani* sultan (r. 887/1482-924/1518).

[24] It is odd that the main endowment of the shrine is not mentioned here, but only the private endowment of the family of Latif* al-Din*, which is mentioned twice.

At the time of the Nizam * Shah's* coronation:[25]
Governor: Khaji* Khan*
Trustee: Qazi* Shaykhun[26]

Treasurer: Diyanat* Khan*
Governor: Kamil* Khan*
Trustee: Miyan* Bud'hu*

Treasurer: Nasir* al-Din*
Governor: Mubariz* al-Mulk
Trustee: Miyan* Muhammad*

Treasurer: Sakhawat* Khan*, Pir* Ni`mat Khan*
Governor: Badan Latif*
Trustee: Miyan* Abu Shakur*

Treasurer: Malik Muhammad* Ghaws `urf-i Abu* Bakr ibn Abu* Shakur*[27]
Governor: Iwanat* (?) Khan*
Trustee: Miyan* Bara

Treasurer: Qazi* Jiwan* ibn Ghaws

Governor, Treasurer, and Trustee: Qazi* [p. 157] Ghaws

Treasurer: Qazi* Charchu* ibn Ghaws

Emperors[28]

Sultan Mujahid* Shah*
Sultan Muhammad* Hasan*
Sultan `Ala'* al-Din*
Sultan Muhammad* Shah*
Sultan Mahmud* Shah*
Sultan Humayun* Shah*

Trustees[29]

Kaka* Shad* Bakht (9 years)
Khwaja* `Abd al-Rashid* (7 years)

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[25] Sultan Nizam* Shah*, the twelfth Bahmani* sultan (r. 865/1461-867/1463).

[26] Mentioned in the last paragraph of the text as qazi* under Mahmud* Shah's* reign (887/1482-924/1518), more than twenty years after Nizam* Shah's* coronation.

[27] The recurrence of the name "Ghaws" in the next few lines indicates a family succession to the office of *mushrif* at this time.

[28] This list of six Bahmani* sultans is not in chronological order.

[29] This list is also out of order; Muhammad* Lashkari* should come third, after `Abd al-Rashid*.

Khwaja * Sharaf al-Din*, son-in-law of `Abd al-Rashid* (5 years)
Khwaja* Bara, son-in-law of `Abd al-Rashid*
Khwaja* Muhammad* Lashkari*
Khwaja* `Abd al-`Aziz*[30]
Khwaja* `Abd al-Karim*
Miyan* Sufi*
Miyan* Ahmad* Mahmud*
Miyan* Bara[31]
Miyan* Miran* Mahmud*
Miyan* Chaman[32]
Qazi* Shaykhun[33]
Miyan* Manan
Agha Miyan*

Governors

Malik Raja* Faruqi*
Malik Parviz*[34]
Malik Muhammad* Parviz*[35]
Malik Wajih* `Ali* Muhammad*[36]
Malik Qutb* al-Din*
Kamal* Khan*
Mubariz* al-Mulk
Mukhtass* Khan*
Farhat* Khan*
Iwanat* (?) Khan*
Ma`ruf* Khan*

Qazis*

`Ali* Tusi*
Qazi* Nizam* Da'ud* Tusi*
Qazi* Da'ud* Nizam* Tusi*

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[30] Trustee at coronation of Mujahid* Shah* (776/1375).

[31] Mentioned in connection with the reign of Muhammad* Shah* (867/1463-887/1482), he was a descendant of Latif* al-Din*.

[32] Mentioned as trustee at the coronations of Humayun* (862/1458) and Muhammad* (867/1463).

[33] After appearing as qazi* under Mahmud* Shah's* reign (887/1482-924/1518), the same figure is now listed as a trustee.

[34] Coronation of Sultan Muhammad* (867/1463).

[35] Coronation of Humayun* (862/1458).

[36] Probably the Malik Wajih* at the time of Mahmud's* coronation (887/1482).

Qazi * Jalal* al-Din* Tusi*
Qazi* Muhammad* Jalal* Tusi*[37]
Shaykh Miyan* Qazi* ibn Shaykh Miyan*

Writer and owner Muhammad* Fayz*, son of Hafiz* Muhammad* Amin*, attendant of the luminous shrine———.

[37] Coronation of Muhammad* Shah* (867/1463).

Appendix C.
Mughul and Deccan Farmans * from Khuldabad

The following summaries are based on microfilm printout copies of the original Persian documents from the collection of Fariduddin Saleem of Khuldabad. Lack of space as well as the condition of the manuscripts precludes a complete transcription and translation here. These summaries are not exhaustive, but include the principal data while omitting administrative formulas and the more technical financial notations. Dates of documents are given in the Mughuls' solar *ilahi** calendar, the lunar Islamic *hijri** calendar, and the Gregorian calendar, separated by slashes, with calculated equivalents in brackets. Conversions are based on V. S. Bendrey's *Tarikh-i-ilahi** (Aligarh: Centre of Advanced Study, Department of History, Aligarh Muslim University, 1972), with the difference that Bendrey's Old Style (Julian) dates are corrected into New Style (Gregorian). For a discussion of the documents, see above, Part III, chap. 10, and the summary in Chart 6.

A. Dargahs* of Shaykh Burhan* al-Din* Gharib*, Shaykh Muntajib al-Din*, and Shaykh Zayn al-Din*

A1. Date: 27 Tir*, 50 *ilahi**/[2 Rabi`* I 1014]/[18 July 1605].[1]

Reign: Akbar

[1] This is evidently identical with a *farman** preserved in the Andhra Pradesh State Archives in Hyderabad, identified as Museum 7993, and briefly described in the *Proceedings of the Indian Historical Records Commission* 46 (1979), p. 289. None of the other *farmans** in this collection seems to survive in an administrative copy.

Endowment: Bhadgaon village in Burhanpur district, and two villages in the districts of Bhusawal and Adilabad.[2]

Recipient: Shaykh Zayn al-Din * Muhammad*, son of Shaykh Khan* Muhammad*, heir of Sultan Burhan* al-Din* and Shah* Muntajib.

Stipulations: Half the income is designated for living expenses of the custodians, and half for the annual festival (*`urs*), the open kitchen, shawls, and lamps. Exemption from various taxes is guaranteed. The chief custodian of the shrine (*sahib-i* sajjada**) has exclusive control over these revenues, from which the trustees (*mutawalliyan**) are excluded.

Endorsements: Miran* Sadr-i* Jahan*, *sadr**; Muhammad* Tahir*, reporter (*waqi`a-niwis**); Ram* Das*.[3]

A2. Date: 28 Tir*, 21 *ilahi** regnal/24 Shawwal* 1035/[19 July 1626].[4]

Reign: Jahangir*.

Endowment: Longaon and Karab villages in Bhadgaon district, with an estimated total revenue (*jam`-i raqmi**) of 122,400 *dams**, from the beginning of the autumn (*kharif**) crop of Pars-il* (third year of the Turkish duodecenary cycle).[5]

Recipient: Shrine of Sultan Burhan* al-Din* and Shah* Zayn al-Din* and the attendants thereof.

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[2] Bhadgaon is a town on the Girna River, fifty miles north of Khuldabad, Bhusawal is a junction town on the Tapti River, and Adilabad is a major town on the Puma River.

[3] Mirah* Sadr-i* Jahan* Pihani* (d. 1020/1611) was the officer in charge of religious endowments (*sadr**) under Akbar from 997/1599 (according to H. Blochmann, trans., *The A'in-i Akbari* by Abu `l-Fazl `Allami, I, 282), and subsequently served in the same capacity under Jahangir*. Shahnawaz* Khan* reported of him, that "during his tenure of office as the *Sadr** of Jahangir* he gave away so many maintenance lands that Asaf* Khan* Ja`far reported to the king that Miran* had given away in five years what Akbar had granted in fifty years" (Samsam-ud-Daula* Shahnawaz* Khan* and his son `Abdul Hayy*, *The Maathir-ul-Umara**, trans. H. Beveridge, revised by Baini Prashad [Patna: Janaki Prakashan, 1979], II, 79-80).

[4] This grant was made when Jahangir* was in Kabul, where Mahabat* Khan* had put him under virtual house arrest in an attempt to take over the administration. During this time Jahangir* visited many local saints while plotting his eventual return to power, and so granting this endowment presumably fit in with his conspicuously religious behavior during this time. See further Beni Prasad, *History of Jahangir** (Allahabad: The Indian Press [Publications] Private Ltd., 1962), p. 384.

[5] Estimated total revenue (*jam`-i raqmi**) was a customary evaluation not necessarily identical with actual revenue (hasil*); cf. H. H. Wilson, *A Glossary of Judicial and Revenue Terms* (London: Wm. H. Allen & Co., 1855; reprint ed., Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1968), pp. 229b, 202a. The dam* is a copper coin equivalent to one fortieth of a silver Hindustani rupee (Wilson, p. 121b).

Stipulations: Revenue to be used for expenses. Recipients are to pray for the welfare of the ruling dynasty.

Endorsements: Khan-i* Jahan*,[6] Fazil* Khan*.[7] Records the actual revenue (*hasil**) of the old endowment as 1,250,000 *dams,* which has been reduced on the advice of Asaf* Khan*.[8]

A3. Date: 20 Azar* [9 *hijri** regnal]/[14 Rajab 1046]/[12 December 1636].[9]

Reign: Shahjahan*.

Endowment: 6,845 ½ *huns** from villages in Daulatabad district, plus twenty-one shawls; also, on the recommendation of Khan-i* Zaman*, 3,500 *huns** from the town of Rawza* (i.e., Khuldabad).[10]

Recipient: Sultan Burhan* al-Din*, etc.

Stipulations: Local revenues are to be used for expenses. Recipients are to pray for the welfare of the ruling dynasty.

A4. Date: 6 Muharram*, 11 regnal/1047/[31 May 1637].[11]

Reign: Shahjahan*.

Endowment: Sara village in Daulatabad district, from beginning of autumn crop of Pars-il*.[12]

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[6] Khan-i* Jahan* Lodi* (d. 1040/1631) was a courtier and great favorite of Jahangir*; from the year of this *farman**, he had been given charge of the entire Deccan (*The Maathir-ul-Umara**, I, 798). His sympathy for Sufism is evident also in his later attraction to the eminent Shaykh Fazl* Allah* of Burhanpur (ibid., I, 804).

[7] Aqa* Afzal* Fazil* Khan* (d. 1058/1648) was a close associate of Khan-i* Jahan* and served under him in the Deccan at this time (*The Maathir-ul-Umara**, I, 549).

[8] This Asaf* Khan* is better known as Asaf* Jahi* (d. 1051/1641), brother of Nur* Jahan* and close counselor of Jahangir*. His advice to reduce the grant must have come after his own release from the custody of Mahabat* Khan*, during the time Jahangir* was under house arrest (*The Maathir-ul-Umara**, I, 289).

[9] The year is obliterated on the front, but is supplied on the endorsement.

[10] Khan-i* Zaman* was the governor of the northern Deccan (or Balaghat) from 1627 to 1637; see *The Maathir-ul-Umara**, I, 217. It is notable that the endowment has now been regularized into the Mughul administrative system in the Deccan. Not only has the old Faruqi* endowment from Khandesh been replaced with a local grant from the Daulatabad area, but also the currency valuation has been made in terms of the gold-based Deccan *hun** (usually translated "pagoda") in place of the silver-based *dam** (cf. Wilson, p. 211b).

[11] This document was issued in Agra, just three weeks after Awrangzib's* marriage to Dilras* Banu*; cf. Saksena, *History of Shahjahan**, p. 315.

[12] This is evidently the village today called Sarai, two miles from Khuldabad (*Aurangabad District, Maharash??tra State Gazetteers* p. 1176).

Recipient: Shaykh Burhan * al-Din*, Shaykh Muntajib al-Din*, Shaykh Zayn al-Din*, and in particular the prior trustees of the shrines.[13]

Stipulations: Revenues to be used for the annual festival, open kitchen, etc. Exemptions from various taxes are guaranteed.

Endorsements: Mir* Muhammad* Hashim*, sadr*; `Abd al-Rahim*, reporter.

A5. Date: 9 Ramazan*, 11 regnal/1047/[25 January 1638].

Reign: Shahjahan*.

Endowment: Villages in the Daulatabad district, with a yield (*mablagh*) of 3500 *huns**.[14]

Recipient: Sultan Burhan* al-Din*, etc. (obliterated on front, but supplied in endorsement).

Endorsement: Cites previous decree of 9th regnal year (cf. A3 above) conferring four villages from Daulatabad district, with a yield of 3,500 *huns**.

A6. Date: 4 Rajab, 12 regnal/1080/[28 November 1669].

Reign: Awrangzib*.

Endowment: Sara village in Daulatabad district.

Recipient: Shaykh Burhan* al-Din*, Muntajib al-Din*, Zayn al-Din*.

Stipulations: Revenues to be used for annual festival, open kitchen, etc. As hoped by the trustees and residents, the previous endowment is renewed. Exemptions from various taxes are guaranteed.

Endorsement: Cites memorandum (*yad** *dasht**) of Friday, 24 Rabi`* I, 12 regnal/1080/[22 August 1669], and a decree of Muharram*, 11 regnal, stating the actual revenue (*hasil**) of the village to be 741 rupees in 1077/1666. *Hajji** Yasin*, *sadr**.

A7. Date: 24 Sha`ban*, 34 regnal/[1101]/[2 June 1690] (a copy, with some errors corrected).[15]

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[13] This represents a change in the fortunes of the shrines, since in Akbar's farman* the trustees (*mutawalliyan**) were excluded from the shrine's revenues in favor of the hereditary custodian.

[14] Again the income of the shrine has been reduced, by the loss of the 6845 ½ *huns** of document A3, above.

[15] At this time Awrangzib* was probably at Bijapur; see Saqi Must`ad* Khan*, *Maasir-i `Al-amgiri* (sic), trans. Sir Jadu-nath Sarkar (Calcutta: Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1947), p. 204.

Reign: Awrangzib *.

Recipient: Shaykh Ni`mat Allah* and the attendants of the shrines of Shah* Burhan* al-Din* and Shah* Muntajib al-Din*.

Stipulations: Confirms recipients' rights against the claims of Shaykh Darvish* Muhammad* and attendants of the shrine of Shaykh Zayn al-Din*, concerning the village of Payan (?) endowed to the shrine of Khwaja* Husayn* (father of Zayn al-Din*), which was normally under the control of Zayn al-Din's* shrine.[16] Endorsement in English, "Compared and found correct," with illegible date and signature.

A8. Date: 4 Jumada* II, 3 regnal/1121/[11 August 1709].

Reign: Bahadur* Shah*.[17]

Endowment: Sara, in Daulatabad district, with a total revenue of 74,106 *dams,* and an actual revenue of 1,175 rupees.

Recipient: Shaykh Burhan* al-Din*, Zayn al-Din*, Muntajib al-Din*.

Stipulations: From second third of the spring (*rabi`**) crop of Ud-il* (second year in cycle), for the annual festival, open kitchen, etc.

Endorsement: Amjad Khan*, *sadr**; Ghulam* `Isa*, reporter. Murshid Quli* Khan's* seal confirms that according to a decree of Awrangzib*, and a memorandum of the Amir* al-Umara'*, this grant was confirmed from crown lands (*khalisa**) for the shrines' expenses in the name of one Mubarak* Khan*. Contains lengthy eulogies of the Nizam* al-Mulk Asaf* al-Dawla.[18] Cites two of Awrangzib's* decrees (including no. A6 above, of the twelfth regnal year).

A9. Date: 7 Rajah, 4 regnal/[1122]/[1 September 1710].

Reign: Bahadur* Shah*.

Endowment: Bursar Khurd, in Kanhar district, Daulatabad region, with total revenue of 110,300 *dams**, and actual revenue of 1,378 rupees, from the spring crop of Pars-il*, instead of the villages formerly held (cf. A8, above).[19]

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[16] This document evidently reflects a split within the organization that jointly administered the three shrines of Burhan* al-Din*, Muntajib al-Din*, and Zayn al-Din*. On the shrine of Khwaja* Husayn*, see no. C2, below.

[17] For this monarch's reverence for saints, and his reckless generosity, see William Irvine, *Later Mughals,* ed. Jadunath Sarkar (New Delhi: Oriental Books Reprint Corporation, 1971), pp. 136-38.

[18] It is likely that this noble, who became the first Nizam* of Hyderabad, assisted in securing this endowment; his devotion to the saint is evident from the fact that he was buried in the precincts of Burhan* al-Din's* shrine.

[19] For Bursar Khurd, see *Gazetteer,* p. 1070.

Recipient: Attendants of the shrines of Shaykh Burhan * al-Din*, Muntajib al-Din*, and Zayn al-Din*.

Stipulations: To be used only for living expenses. Recipients are to pray for the welfare of the ruling dynasty.

Endorsement: Cites memorandum of 28 Azar*, 3 regnal/17 Shawwal*, 1121/[20 December 17091. Sayyid Amjad Khan*, *sadr**; Ghulam* `Isa*, reporter. Specifies actual revenue of endowment as 1378 rupees and 10 anas*. Signatures of Nizam* al-Mulk Asaf* al-Dawla, Mu`azzam* Khan*, Ikhlas* Khan*, and Mirza* Shahnawaz* Khan* (as deputy to Asaf* al-Dawla) are recorded. Specifies revocation of the previous endowment of Sara village by Awrangzib* in regnal years 11 and 12 (cf. A6, above). Refers to gift of the villages of Sankuli (?) and Tajnapur, with total revenue of 1,000 rupees, for the upkeep of the attendants of the shrines; the latter, however, preferred the present grant of 1378 rupees 10 *anas**.

B. Dargah* of Sayyid Yusuf* Raju* Qattal*

B1. Date: 25 Tir*, 81 *ilahi**/9 regnal/[11 Safar* 1046]/[15 July 1636] ("copy in agreement with the original").

Reign: Shahjahan*.

Endowment: 3 *chawars** by *shar`i** gaz, equivalent to 360 *bighas** by *ilahi** gaz, from previously held land, to replace 7 *chawars** from Sultanpur village.[20]

Recipient: Shrine of Sayyid Raju*, for sandalwood, roses, and lamps, and for the sustenance of Mulla* Wahid* ibn Ahmad*, the attendant.

Stipulations: Recipient is to use the products of the land for his sustenance, and to pray for the welfare of the ruling dynasty. Exemptions from various taxes are guaranteed.

Endorsement: Cites memorandum of 31 Urdibihisht, 9 *ilahi** regnal/14 Dhu* al-Hijja* 1045/[20 May 1636]. Mawlawi* Khan*, *sadr**. Cites memoranda of `Abd al-Rahman*, of 16 Tir*, 9 *ilahi** regnal/[2 *Safar** 1046]/[6 July 1636], and of Afzal* Khan*.

B2. Date: 15 Jumada* I 1238/[28 January 1823].

[20] The *chawar** is a Maratha land measure, usually the equivalent of 120 square *bighas**. The *bigha** is about five eighths of an acre. Measurement is made by a yardstick measure, here the *ilahi** gaz instituted by Akbar (33 inches), or the *shar`i gaz*. For these terms, see Wilson, pp. 85b, 107b, 171b.

Reign: Sikandar Jah *, Nizam of Hyderabad.

Endowment: Bumiya (?) village in Daulatabad region, with an actual revenue of 3 rupees (i.e., per day), half of which is to be paid monthly from the beginning of 1237.

Recipient: Hafiz* `Abd al-Shakur*, son of Hafiz* Muhammad* `Ali*, attendant of the shrine of Sayyid Raju* Qattal* and Sayyid Zayn al-Haqq*.

Endorsement: Seal of Farrukhsiyar. Cites previous grant of village (name illegible) yielding 8 *anas** per day, and a memorandum of 17 Rabi`* I, 4 regnal/[1222]/[25 May 1807], in the names of Fayz* Allah*, Rahmat* Allah*, and Muhammad* (illegible), for sandalwood, roses, and lamps for the shrine, from 1 Sha`ban*, 4 regnal. Endorsement in Marathi.[21]

B3. Date: 5 Dhu* al-Qa`da 1242/[31 May 1827] ("copy in agreement with the original").

Reign: (Sikandar Jah*).

Recipient: Muhammad* `Abd al-Shakur*, son of Hafiz* Muhammad* `Ali*, of the sons of Mulla* Wahid* al-Din* Ahmad*, attendant of the shrine of Shah* Raju* Qattal*.

Stipulations: Recipient is confirmed as sole legitimate attendant of the shrine.

Endorsement: Rather than being a government document, this has been issued under the seals of Sayyid Shah* Asad Allah* Muhammad* Akbar al-Husayni*, chief custodian of the Greater Shrine (*rawza-i** *kalan**) in Gulbarga, and Sayyid Shah* Habib* Allah* Muhammad* Asghar* al-Husayni*, chief custodian of the shrine of Gisu* Daraz* (*rawza-i** *khwaja**) at Gulbarga.

C. Other Grants

C1. Date: 14 Ramazan*, 27 regnal/1094/[6 September 1683].

Reign: Awrangzib*.

Endowment: Thirty *bighas** as measured by *ilahi** gaz, from Sultanpur district in the region of Daulatabad.

Recipient: Unspecified on front, but see endorsement.

Stipulations: Revenues to be used for necessities. Recipients are to pray

[21] One *ana** equals one-sixteenth of a rupee (Wilson, p. 24a), so this document raises the income from one-half rupee to three rupees per day.

for the welfare of the ruling dynasty. Exemptions from various taxes are guaranteed.

Endorsement: Muhammad * Sa`id*, reporter, on the basis of a memorandum from the late treasurer Sharif* Khan*, dated 29 Jumada* II, 27 regnal/1094/[25 June 1683], signed also by Faza'il* Khan* and Bahrmand Khan*, citing the date of 21 Jumada* II, 25 regnal/[1092]/[16 July 1681]. The grant is to be divided among four people, with half going to a son (name illegible) of Hajji* Shaykh Saghir*, and the other half to be shared by three sisters, Bibi* Rabi`a*, Bibi* `A'isha*, and Bibi* Banu* Begum.[22]

C2. Date: Rabi`* II, 4 regnal/[1122]/[June 1710].

Reign: Bahadur* Shah*.

Endowment: Bhandegaon village and Ja`farabad village in Sultanpur district of Daulatabad region, with total revenue of 282,067 dams*, and actual revenue of 3,249 rupees.[23]

Recipient: Shrine of Khwaja* Husayn*, father of the Shaykh al-Islam (Zayn al-Din*), and shrine of Khwaja* `Umar, uncle of the Shaykh al-Islam, in the care of Shaykh Abu* al-Khayr.[24]

Stipulations: From the spring crop of Qawi-il*, for annual festival, adornments for the shrine, sustenance of attendants.

Endorsement: Cites memorandum of 14 Ramazan*, 5 regnal/1122/5 Aban* *ilahi*/[6 November 1710]. Amjad Khan*, *sadr*'*. Endorsement in English, partially obscured by repairs, reading," ... and compared", with illegible date and signature, apparently identical to the English notation on A7 above.

C3. Date: 21 Rajah 1256/[18 September 1840].

Reign: Raja* Tribhavan* Das*.

Endowment: 5 rupees monthly for sandalwood, roses, etc., from Sha`ban* 1256/[October 1840].

Recipient: Attendants of the shrine of Shah* Jalal* Ganj-i Ravan*.[25]

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[22]. This document is a stipend for the support of living individuals rather than a shrine grant.

[23]. For these villages, see *Gazetteer,* pp. 1064, 1110.

[24]. For Khwaja* Husayn* (d. 27 Sha`ban, 752/1349) and his brother Khwaja* `Umar, see Rawnaq `Ali* *Rawzat* al-aqtab**, pp. 141-43; `Azad*, *Rawzat* al-awliya'**, p. 90.

[25]. This saint, whose original name was Jalal* al-Din* Kharaqani*, is said to have been the disciple of a student of Shaykh Shihab* al-Din* Suhrawardi* of Baghdad (d. 1234). See `Azad*, *Rawzat* al-awliya'**, p. 130.

NOTES

Preface

1. Jean de Thevenot, *The Travels of Monsieur de Thevenot into the Levant* (London, 1687), reprinted in *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri,* ed. Surendranath Sen, Indian Records Series (New Delhi: National Archives of India, 1949), p. 105.

2. Ghulam * `Ali* Azad* Bilgrami*, *Rawzat* al-awliya'* al-ma`ruf* bi-nafahat* al-asfiya'*, Urdu translation by Muhammad* `Abd al-Majid* (Hyderabad: Matba`-i* Karimi*, n.d. [1345/1926-27]), pp. 1-2. The phrase *rawza-i* ba-safa'* ("pure garden") is Azad's* chronogram for the year of the book's composition, 1152/1739.

3. Syed Hossain Bilgrami and C. Willmott, *Historical and Descriptive Sketch of His Highness the Nizam's Dominions* (2 vols., Bombay: The Times of India Steam Press, 1883-84), II, 715. "Kerbella" (Karbala'* in Iraq) is the site of the martyrdom of the Imam Husayn* in 680, and is considered as a most sacred pilgrimage center among Shi`i* Muslims.

4. Thus the approach of this study differs considerably from that of P.M. Currie, *The Shrine and Cult of Mu`in* al-Din* Chishti* of Ajmer,* Oxford University South Asian Studies Series (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1989).

5. The name Khuldabad was given to the town after the burial there of the emperor Awrangzib* (d. 1707), from his postmortem epithet *khuld-makan*, "stationed in eternity."

6. Shams al-Din* Muhammad* Hafiz* Shirazi*, *Divan** [ed. Qasim* Ghani*] (Tehran: Amir-i* Kabir*, 1352/1973), p. 50, no. 49.

Part One

1. Abuú Nasr* `Abdallah B. `Alí al-Sarráj al-Tusi*, *The Kitáb al-Luma` fi 'l-Tasawwuf**, ed. Reynold Alleyne Nicholson, "E. J. W. Gibb Memorial" Series, vol. XXII (London, 1914; reprint ed., London: Luzac & Company Ltd., 1963), pp. 20-22, where he also quotes Ibn Ishaq's* history of Mecca on the pre-Islamic use of the term Sufí to describe one who circumambulated the Ka`ba.

2. Sarraj *, p. 22.

3. There are still some who defend a return to "traditional scholarship" consisting of the abstract study of influences, as in the recent work of Julian Baldick, *Mystical Islam: An Introduction to Sufism* (London: I. B. Tauris & Co. Ltd., 1989).

4. This crosscultural process is the subject of my *The Pool of Nectar: Islamic Interpretations of Yoga* (forthcoming from the State University of New York Press).

5. See Annemarie Schimmel, *Mystical Dimensions of Islam* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1975), pp. 8-11, for an overview of early studies of Sufism.

6. Sarraj*, pp. 3-4.

7. Jacqueline Chabbi, "Remarques sur le développement historique des mouve-ments ascétiques et mystiques au Khurasan, IIIe/IXe siècle-IVe/Xe siècle," *Studia Islamica* 46 (1977), pp. 5-72.

8. Abdurrahman Habil, "Traditional Esoteric Commentaries on the Quran," in *Islamic Spirituality: Foundations,* ed. Seyyed Hossein Nasr, World Spirituality: An Encyclopedic History of the Religious Quest, vol. 19 (New York: Crossroad, 1987), pp. 24-47.

9. For a brief survey of Sufi biographical literature, see my "From Hagiography to Martyrology: Conflicting Testimonies to a Sufi Martyr of the Delhi Sultanate," *History of Religions* XXIV/4 (May 1985), pp. 308-27.

10. For a discussion of the early Sufi trials, see my *Words of Ecstasy in Sufism,* SUNY Series in Islam (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1984), esp. part III.

11. See my *Words of Ecstasy in Sufism,* part I, for a discussion of ecstatic expressions.

12. See my "Mystical Language and the Teaching Context in the Early Sufi Lexicons," in *Mysticism and Language,* ed. Steven T. Katz (Oxford University Press, forthcoming).

13. Schimmel, pp. 98-99.

14. Sarraj*, p. 150.

15. Sarraj*, p. 167.

16. Sarraj* refers to this intensification as "emphasis (*tashdid**) on his [God's] saying, 'Fear God as much as you are able' (Qur. 64.16)" (*Luma`*, p. 87).

17. Junayd, in Sarraj*, p. 42.

18. Ruzbihan* Baqli*, *Sharh-i* shathiyyat**, ed. Henry Corbin, Bibliothèque Iranienne, no. 12 (Tehran: Département d'Iranologie de l'Institut Franco-Iranien, 1966), pp. 546-47.

19. Sarraj *, p. 41.

20. See Schimmel, pp. 109-130, for extended comments on the states and stages.

21. See my "Mystical Language and the Teaching Context in the Early Lexicons of Sufism."

22. Schimmel, pp. 155-67.

23. Sarraj*, pp. 257-63, where the invocations are listed as a type of Sufi literature, along with letters, poetry, and testaments; an example is Khwaja* `Abdullah Ansari, *Intimate Conversations,* trans. Wheeler M. Thackston, Jr. (New York: Paulist Press, 1978).

24. Schimmel, pp. 167-78.

25. Schimmel, pp. 178-86.

26. James Robson, trans., *Tracts on Listening to Music* (London, 1938); D. S. Margoliouth, trans., "Devil's Delusion of Abu'l* Faraj ibn al-Jawzi," *Islamic Culture* 19 (1945), pp. 180-88, 272-89, 376-83.

27. See, for example, the discussion of Hujwiri*, pp. 331-67, trans., pp. 393-420.

28. Hujwiri*, pp. 188-217, trans., pp. 210-41; Schimmel, pp. 199-213

29. Abu* Nu`aym Ahmad* ibn `Abd Allah* al-Isfahani*, *Hilyat* al-awliya'* wa tabaqat* al-asfiya'* (10 vols., Egypt: Maktabat al-Khanji*, n.d.), X, 252-53.

30. R. A. Nicholson, *Studies in Islamic Mysticism* (Cambridge, 1921; reprint ed., Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967), p. 46. Cf. also Fritz Meier, *Abu* Sa`id-i* Abu* l-Hayr* (357-440/967-1049), Wirklichkeit und Legende,* Acta Iranica 11 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1976), pp. 310-11, who suggests that this type of behavior predates Abu* Sa`id*.

31. Abu* al-Najib* al-Suhrawardi*, *A Sufi Rule for Novices, Kitab* Adab* al-Muridin**, trans. Menahem Milson (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1975).

32. Marshall G.S. Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam: Conscience and History in a World Civilization,* vol. II, *The Expansion of Islam in the Middle Periods* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974), pp. 214-17.

33. Fritz Meier, "Hurasan* und das Ende der klassischen Sufik*," *La Persia nel medioevo* (Rome: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 1971), pp. 545-70.

34. Ibn Battutah, *Travels in Asia and Africa 1325-1354,* trans. H. A. R. Gibb, ed. E. Denison Ross and Eileen Power (London, 1926; reprint ed., Karachi: Indus Publications, 1986), p. 316.

35. Muhammad* ibn Munawwar, *Asrar* al-tawhid**, cited by A. Bausani, "Religion in the Saljuq Period," in J. A. Boyle, ed., *The Cambridge History of Iran,* vol. 5, *The Saljuq and Mongol Periods* (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1968), p. 300.

36. Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in India During the Thirteenth Century* (Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1961), p. 249.

37. A. K. S. Lambton, "Quis Custodiet Custodes: Some Reflections on the Persian Theory of Government, I, "*Theory and Practice in Medieval Persian Government* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1980, pp. 138-39.

38. Nizami, pp. 248-53.

39. Abu * Hamid* al-Ghazali*, *Ihya'* `ulum* al-din** (Cairo: Dar* al-Shu`ab, n.d.), part 7, pp. 1273-74; Ira M. Lapidus, *Muslim Cities in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967; Student edition, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984) p. 106.

40. Ghazali*, *Ihya'* `ulum* al-din*, Kitab* al-halal* wa al-haram*, *babs* 4-6, pp. 886-914.

41. Nizami, p. 241, quoting *Maktubat-i* Ghazali**, p. 7.

42. Nizami, p. 243, quoting (without translation) the *Divan-i* Jamal* al-Din* Hans-vi**, II, 45.

43. James Dickie, "Allah and Eternity: Mosques, Madrasas and Tombs," in George Michell, ed., *Architecture of the Islamic World: Its History and Social Meaning* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1978), pp. 15-48, esp. pp. 43-44.

44. Hodgson, pp. 95-98, 220-22.

45. For the Mughul administration of *suyurghals,* see Abu* 'l-Fazl* 'Allami*, The *A`in-i* Akbari**, trans. H. Blochmann, 2nd ed. rev. by D.C. Phillott (New Delhi: Oriental Books Reprint Corporation, 1977 [1927]), I, 278-85.

46. Lapidus, pp. 73-74.

47. Ibn al-Jawzi*, *Talbis* Iblis** (Beirut: Dar* al-Kutub al-`Ilmiyya, n.d.), p. 175.

48. See my "An Indo-Persian Guide to Sufi Shrine Pilgrimage," in *Manifestations of Sainthood in Islam,* ed. Grace Martin Smith and Carl W. Ernst (forthcoming).

49. For juristic opposition to Sufi practices, see Muhammad Umar Memon, *Ibn Taymiya's Struggle Against Popular Religion* (The Hague: Mouton, 1982).

50. Hujwiri*, pp. 50-56; trans., pp. 62-69.

51. Hodgson, II, 218.

52. P. Hardy, *Historians of Medieval India: Studies in Indo-Muslim Historical Writing* (London: Luzac & Company Ltd., 1960), pp. 1-20.

53. Sir H. M. Elliot, *The History of India as told by its own Historians, The Muhammadan Period,* ed. John Dowson (8 vols., London, 1867-77; reprint ed., Allahabad: Kitab Mahal, n.d.).

54. See the critical studies, corrections, and additions in Shapurshah* Hormasji Hodivala*, *Studies in Indo-Muslim History, A Critical Commentary on Elliot and*

Dowson's History of India as told by its Own Historians (2 vols., Bombay: S. H. Hodivala, 1939, 1954); Mohammad Habib, "Introduction to Elliot and Dowson's *History of India,* vol. II, "in *Politics and Society during the Early Medieval Period, Collected Essays of Professor Mohammad Habib,* ed. K. A. Nizami (New Delhi: People's Publishing House, 1974), pp. 33-110; Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, *Supplement to Elliot & Dowson's History of India* (2 vols., Delhi: Idarah-i Adabiyat-i Delli, 1981).

55. Elliot, "Original Preface," I, xix.

56. Ibid., I, xxii.

57. Hardy, ibid., discusses the reasons for the political focus of British historians of India, which continues to follow the "sources" method in such works as the *Cambridge History of India,* vol. 3, *Turks and Afghans,* ed. Sir Wolseley Haig (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1928).

58. For the development of nationalist trends in Indian historiography, see R. C. Majumdar, "Nationalist Historians," in C. H. Philips, *Historians of India, Pakistan and Ceylon* (London: Oxford University Press, 1961), pp. 416-28; J. S. Grewal, "Concepts and Interpretations of Medieval Indian History," in *Medieval India: History and Historians* (Amritsar: Gum Nanak University, 1975), pp. 135, 138-39; Brace T. McCully, "The Origins of Indian Nationalism According to Native Writers," *The Journal of Modern History* 7 (1935), pp. 295-314.

59. John E. E. D. Acton, "Nationality," in *The History of Freedom* [1862], ed. John Neville Figgis and Reginald Vere Laurence (London: Macmillan and Co., Limited, 1922), pp. 270-300; Carlton J. H. Hayes, *Nationalism: A Religion* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1960), pp. 164-82; Hans Kohn, "Nationalism," *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* (1968), XI, 63-70.

60. Mohammad Habib, "Introduction," in Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in India in the Thirteenth Century,* IAD Religio-Philosophical Series, 2 (2nd ed., Delhi: Idarah-i Adabiyat-i Delli, 1978), pp. xi-xxii.

61. The term "historiomachy" was coined by Eric Voegelin to describe the rivalry of ecumenic symbolisms in the Hellenistic age; cf. his *Order and History,* vol. 4, *The Ecumenic Age* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1974), pp. 111-13.

62. K. M. Munshi, "Foreward," in R. C. Majumdar, ed., *The History and Culture of the Indian People,* vol. V, *The Struggle for Empire* (Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1957), pp. vii, xi-xii.

63. Peter Hardy estimates that 20 out of 416 pages of al-`Utbi's * *Ta'rikh-i* yamini** (Tehran, 1345 solar) deal with India, and just four and a half pages of Gardizi's* *Zayn al-akhbar** (Tehran, 1347 solar) record expeditions to India; see "The Growth of Authority over a Conquered Political Elite: The Early Delhi Sultanate as a Possible Case Study," in *Kingship and Authority in South Asia,* ed. J. F. Richards (Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1978), p. 205.

64. C. E. Bosworth, "The imperial policy of the early Ghaznawids," in *The Medieval History of Iran, Afghanistan and Central Asia* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1977), essay XI, pp. 54-55.

65. See Paramatma Saran, "The Turkish Conquest of Northern India," in *The Struggle for Empire,* pp. 125-29; Ashirbadi Lal Srivastava, "A Survey of India's Resistance to Mediaeval Invaders from the North-West: Causes of Eventual Hindu Defeat," *Journal of Indian History* 43 (1965), pp. 349-68; and the review article of J. F. Richards, "The Islamic Frontier in the East: Expansion into South Asia," *South Asia* 4 (1974), pp. 90-109.

66. The idealized portrait of Mahmud * is fully realized by the time of the Seljuks, and is a major theme in Delhi sultanate authors such as Barani* and `Isami*; cf. Aziz Ahmad, *Studies in Islamic Culture in the Indian Environment* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1964; reprint ed., Lahore, 1970), p. 79. Modern eulogistic comments on Mahmud* can be found in Muhammad* Ikram*, *Ab-i* Kawsar,* pp. 59-62, partially translated as S. M. Ikram, *Muslim Civilization in India,* ed. Ainslie T. Embree (New York: Columbia University Press, 1964), pp. 24-26.

67. The telling phrase is used by R. C. Majumdar, "Indian Historiography: Some Recent Trends," in *Historians and Historiography in Modern India,* ed. S. P. Sen (Calcutta: Institute of Historical Studies, 1973), p. xxiii. But feelings of religious communalism still simmer in this work. The editor criticizes (p. xii) what he sees as the condescending attitude of the C. H. Philips volume (above, n. 58) and attacks (p. xiii) the unnamed Aligarh school for its "officially inspired" political interpretation of medieval Hindu-Muslim relations. The problem of positivism and nationalism also occurs in modern Arab historiography; cf. Abdallah Laroui, *The Crisis of the Arab Intellectual: Traditionalism or Historicism?,* trans. Diarmid Cammell (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976), p. 25.

68. Voegelin, p. 58.

69. See Bruce B. Lawrence, *Shahrastani* on the Indian Religions,* Religion and Society 4 (The Hague: Mouton, 1976), pp. 17-29.

70. Yohanan Friedmann, "The Origins and Significance of the Chach* Nama*," in *Islam in Asia,* vol. I, ed. Yohanan Friedman (Boulder: Westview Press, 1984), pp. 23-37. Friedman argues (pp. 33-34) that the portions concerning the local dynasty and class structure derive from later Indian Muslim sources.

71. John Block Friedman, *The Monstrous Races in Medieval Art and Thought* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981), pp. 6ff.

72. C. E. Dubler, "`Adja'ib*," EI² I, 103-4; Buzurg ibn Shahriyar (ca. 342/953), *The Book of the Marvels of India* [French trans.] from the Arabic by L. Marcel Devic, English trans. Peter Quennell (New York: Lincoln MacVeagh, Dial Press, 1929); cf. GALS I, 404.

73. S. Maqbul Ahmad, ed., *India and the Neighbouring Territories as described by the Sharif al-Idrisi,* Part One (Arabic Text) (Aligarh: Muslim University, 1954), pp. 24, 28.

74. As an example, see *The Fihrist of al-Nadim**, ed. and trans. Bayard Dodge (2 vols., New York: Columbia University Press, 1970), pp. 826-36.

75. On the term *hindu,* see Wilfrid Cantwell Smith, *The Meaning and End of Religion: A New Approach to the Religious Traditions of Mankind* (New York: New

American Library, 1964), pp. 59-63, 249-52; Henry Yule and A.C. Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson, A Glossary of Colloquial Anglo-Indian Words and Phrases, ed.* William Crooke (London, 1903; reprint ed., New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1979), s.vv. "Hindoo," "India." Europeans also used the term Gentoo (from Portuguese *gentio*), to describe the "Gentiles" or native inhabitants of India.

76. See Annemarie Schimmel, "Turk and Hindu: A Poetical Image and its Application to Historical Fact," in *Islam and Cultural Change in the Middle Ages,* ed. Speros Vryonis, Jr. (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1975), pp. 107-26.

77. Abu * al-Qasim* Firdawsi*, Shah* nama*, ed. Muhammad* `Ali* Furughi* (Tehran: Intisharat-i* Jawidan*, n.d.), p. 329, column 1, line 9. The Brahman sages whom Alexander later meets (ibid., pp. 340-41) are not described as Hindu, but are rather compared to Greek philosophers in their disdain for the world. On images of India in the Shah* nama*, see Peter Hardy, "The Growth of Authority," p. 206.

78. Schimmel, "Turk and Hindu," p. 112.

79. *"Táríkh Yamíní* of `Utbí," trans. H. M. Elliot, in Elliot and Dowson, II, 14-52.

80. Bosworth, "The Development of Persian Culture under the Early Ghaznavids," p. 42.

81. Eduard Sachau, trans., *Alberuni's India* (London, 1888; reprint ed., Delhi: S. Chand & Co., 1964).

82. Ibid., p. 5.

83. Ibid., p. 17.

84. Ibid., p. 5.

85. On the terms *din* and islam*, see W. C. Smith, oh. 4, pp. 75-108.

86. Minhaj-e-Siraj-e-Juzjani*, *Tabaqat-e* Nasiri* (*sic*), vol. II, ed. `Abd-ul-Haiy* Habibi* Afghani*, Panjab University Oriental Publications, 30 (Lahore: University of the Panjab, 1954), p. 604; Minhaj-ud-Din* Abu-`Umar-i-`Usman*, *Tabakat-i-Nasiri*, trans. H. G. Raverty (2 vols., Calcutta, 1881; reprint ed., Oriental Books Reprint Corporation, 1970), II, 766. Post-Mongol Persian chronicles in central Asia still referred to the Hindu primarily as a slave or bandit: see `Alü'u `d-Dín `Ata* Malik-i-Juwayní, *The Ta'ríkh-i-Jahün-Gushü,* ed. Mírzü Muhammad* ibn `Abdu'l-Wahhüb-i-Qazwíní, "E. J. W. Gibb Memorial" Series, XVI, 1-3 (3 vols., London: Luzac & Co., 1912, 1916, 1937), I, 27, 109, 143; II, 59, 143.

87. Minhaj-i* Siraj*, II, 643-45 (Muhammad*), 712-717 (Arabic poem by `Ali's* friend Yahya* A`qab predicting the Mongols' downfall); trans. Raverty, II, 869 ff., 1281-82 (Raverty did not think these prophecies worth translating, and omitted them derisively). Cf. also II, 691-94, trans. Raverty, II, 1157-64, for the miraculous foiling of the Mongol plot to exterminate all Muslims.

88. On the death of the last caliph, see Minhaj-i* Siraj*, II, 708-9; trans. Raverty, II, 1252-61. To end on an upbeat note, Minhaj-i* Siraj* looks hopefully to the conver-

sion of the Mongol leader Barka * Khan*, grandson of Chingiz* Khan* (II, 717-21; trans. Raverty, II, 1283-93).

89. Minhaj-i* Siraj*, II, 642, trans. Raverty, II, 869-79 (with minor changes; emphasis mine).

90. Minhaj-i* Siraj* introduces to history the adulatory portrait of Mahmud* of Ghazna as the champion of Islam, modelled on the belles lettristic anecdotes of Nizami* `Aruzi* (ca. 1160); now it seems that Mahmud* was born under the same heavenly sign that attended the beginning of Islam, and his birth was heralded by the sudden shattering of an Indian idol temple (trans. Raverty, I, 76-80).

91. Muhammad* Ikram*, *Ab-i* Kawsar* (5th ed., Lahore: Idara-i* Siqafat-i* Islamiyya*, 1984), pp. 128-29.

92. Minhaj-i* Siraj*, II, 705; trans. Raverty, II, 1234, note 8.

93. Peter Hardy, *Historians of Medieval India,* p. 114.

94. Amir* Khusraw, *Khaza'in* al-futuh*, trans. M. Habib (Madras, 1931), p. 49, as cited in Aziz Ahmad, "Epic and Counter-Epic in Medieval India," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 83 (1963), p. 470.

95. Hardy, *Historians,* p. 115; see ibid., pp. 68-93 for an analysis of Amir* Khusraw's rhetorical approach to history.

96. Ahmad, p. 741; Hardy, *Historians,* pp. 94-110. For `Isami*, too, Mahmud* of Ghazna is the "standard-bearer of Islam" and arch-enemy of idolatry (ibid., p. 108).

97. Ziya'* al-Din* Barani*, *Fatawa-i* jahandari**, ed. Afsar Saleem Khan, Publication of the Research Society of Pakistan, no. 25 (Lahore: University of the Punjab, 1972), p. 18.

98. Hardy, p. 128.

99. *"Mir-ít-i Mas`údí,"* trans. R. B. Chapman, in Elliot and Dowson, II, 513-49.

100. Ibid., II, 522.

101. Ibid., II, 525; this is attributed to the mythical *Tarikh-i* Mahmudi** from which `Abd al-Rahman* Chishti* claimed to have gotten the story of Salar* Mas`ud*.

102. Ibid., II, 541.

103. Kerrin Graefin v. Schwerin, "Saint Worship in Indian Islam: The Legend of the Martyr Salar Masud Ghazi," in *Ritual & Religion among Muslims of the Sub-continent,* ed. Imtiaz Ahmad (Lahore: Vanguard, 1985), pp. 143-61.

104. Ernst, "From Hagiography to Martyrology."

105. For condemnation of the Zoroastrian worship of Ahura* in an Indian Muslim legal text, see Mahmud* ibn Ahmad* ibn Abu* al-Qasim* ibn Ahmad* Ta'ifi*, *Khulasat* al-ahkam* fi* din* al-islam** (written 755/1354), MS 1 Farsiyya* Fiqh, University Zamima*,

Maulana Azad Library, Aligarh Muslim University, p. 62; another copy is MS 2562 Persian, India Office Library, London.

106. Anonymous, *Manafi` * `al-qulub** (dedicated to the Sufi master Nasir* al-Din* Mahmud* "Chiragh-i* Dihli*" [d. 1356]), MS 66 Fiqh Farsi*, Salar Jung Museum Library, Hyderabad, fol. 51b (another copy is in the Buhar Collection, National Library, Calcutta); Abu* Bakr ibn Muhammad* al-Qurayshi* al-`Alawi* al-Sindi* al-Patari* (15th cent.), *al-Fatawa* al-`Alawiya**, MS 490 Arabic, Asiatic Society, Calcutta, fol. 218b.

107. Ta'ifi*, p. 63, where the Indian festivals of Holi* and Diwali* are expressly forbidden to Muslims. For further examples of legal responsa from the sultanate period, see David H. Partington's edition and translation of the text by Diya'* al-Din* al-Sunami*, "The *Nisab* al-Ihtisab**, an Arabic Religio-Legal Text," Ph. D. dissertation, Princeton University, 1961, esp. p. 49, no. 35 (prohibiting *dhimmi** fairs).

108. Y. Friedmann, "A Contribution to the Early History of Islam in India," *Studies in Memory of Gaston Wiet,* ed. Myriam Rosen-Ayalon (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1977), pp. 318-19, with references.

109. Ibid., p. 324.

110. Annemarie Schimmel, *Islam in the Indian Subcontinent,* Handbuch der Orientalistik IV. 3 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1980), p. 4.

111. Qazi* Athar* Mubarakpuri*, *Khilafat-i* rashida* awr Hindustan** (Delhi, 1972; reprint ed., Sukkur: Fikr o Nazar* Publications, 1986), p. 18; this book, together with its continuations *Khilafat-i* Umawiyya awr Hindustan* and Khilafat-i* `Abbasiyya* awr Hindustan**, constitutes the Urdu translation of his compendious Arabic work, *al-`Iqd al-thamin* fi* futuh* al-Hind wa man warada fiha* min al-sahaba* wa al-tabi`in** (Delhi: Nadwat al-Musannifin*, 1969).

112. Amir* Khusraw, *Masnavi-i* nuh sipihr* (Calcutta, 1949), pp. 151-57, as quoted by Waris Kirmani, *Dreams Forgotten, An Anthology of Indo-Persian Poetry* (Aligarh: Department of Persian, Aligarh Muslim University, 1984), pp. 83-85.

113. Ghulam* `Ali* Azad* al-Bilgrami*, *Subhat* al-marjan* fi* athar* Hindustan**, ed. Muhammad* Fadl* al-Rahman* al-Nadwi* al-Siwani* (2 vols., Aligarh: Jami`at* `Aligarh* al-Islamiyya*, 1976-80), I, 9-10.

114. See Schimmel, *Dimensions,* Index, s.v. "Light, of Muhammad*"; Azad*, I, 21-22.

115. Ibid., I, 24-28.

116. Ibid., Introduction, p. 18.

117. Ibid., Introduction, p. 6; John Voll, "Muhammad* Hayat* al-Sindi* and Muhammad* ibn `Abd al-Wahhab*, an Analysis of an Intellectual Group in Eighteenth-century Madina*," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 38 (1975), pp. 32-39.

118. Azad*, p. 8.

119. Ibid., I, 63. Rabi` * ibn Sabih* was a *ghazi** warrior and *hadith** scholar from Iraq who died in Sind (ibid., I, 64-65). The importance attached to this scholar as far as India is concerned is overrated, since his scholarly work was all done in Basra, and he died within a year of his arrival in Sind; see Yohanan Friedmann, "The Beginnings of Islamic Learning in Sind—A Reconsideration," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 37 (1974), esp. pp. 660-61.

120. Agehananda Bharati, *Hindu Views and Ways and the Hindu-Muslim Interface* (Delhi, 1981).

121. R. C. Majumdar, "Ideas of History in Sanskrit Literature," in C. H. Philips, p. 13; A. L. Basham, "The Kashmir Chronicle," in ibid., pp. 57-65.

122. Wilfred Cantwell Smith, *The Meaning and End of Religion,* p. 62.

123. Rama Shankar Avasthy and Amalananda Ghosh, "References to Muhammadans in Sanskrit Inscriptions in Northern India—A.D. 730 to 1320," *Journal of Indian History* 16 (1936), pp. 24-26, 161-84, esp. nos. 1-5, 49.

124. J. F. Fleet, "Sanskrit and old Canarese Inscriptions, relating to the Yâdava Kings of Dêvagiri," *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 12, no. 33 (1876), p. 19.

125. George Roerich, trans., *Biography of Dharmasvamin** (Patna: K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute, 1959), pp. 61-61f., 98. Despite the use of the term Turuska* in the text, the translator's introduction (pp. v, xiv, xviii-xxi) invariably refers to "Muslim soldiers."

126. Krishna Chaitanya, *A New History of Sanskrit Literature* (New York: Asia Publishing House, 1962), pp. 282-83.

127. Aziz Ahmad, "Epic and Counter-Epic in Medieval India," p. 473.

128. Ibid.

129. Chaitanya, p. 350.

130. Aziz Ahmad, "Epic and Counter-Epic in Medieval India," p. 473.

131. The one reference to Islam in the *Prithvi** *Raj** *Raso** depicts Tatar* Khan* reading a verse from the Qur'an* and having his troops touch the book before battle. The presence of Arabic words (*mashwara, mushaf**) in these verses suggests a late date of composition; see Chand Bardai*, *The Prithiraj** *Rasau**, trans. A. F. Rudolf Hoernle (Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press, 1886), part II, vol. I, p. 10, verses 16-17. Although the term Hindu is used (pp. 18, 22, 60, 62, 63), it is opposed to *mleccha.*

132. Ahmad, p. 474.

133. Ibid., p. 475.

134. M. C. Joshi, "Some Nagari Inscriptions on the Qutb Minar," *Proceedings of Seminar on Medieval Inscriptions (6-8th Feb. 1970)* (Aligarh: Aligarh Muslim University, 1974), p. 25.

135. Ibid. Joshi renders *prasada* * as "by the grace of" instead of treating it as the noun for "temple," which would be normal in an inscription (I am grateful to Dr. Ariel Glucklich for his comments on this inscription).

136. D. C. Sircar, "Veraval Inscription of Chaulukya-Vaghela Arjuna, 1264 A.D.," *Epigraphia Indica* (1961), pp. 141-43.

137. Ibid., p. 144. The Arabic inscription that records this same endowment (pp. 149-50) naturally omits the Sanskrit terms.

138. R. Nath, *History of Mughal Architecture,* vol. I (Atlantic Highlands, N.J.: Humanities Press Inc., 1982), p. 7; cf. pp. 6-10, 68-69 (Sanskrit text).

139. Z. A. Desai, "A Persian-Sanskrit Inscription of Karna Deva Vaghela of Gujarat," *Epigraphia Indica, Arabic and Persian Supplement* (1975), pp. 13-20.

140. D.C. Sircar, p. 145.

141. Norman P. Ziegler, "Some Notes on Rajput* Loyalties During the Mughal Period," in *Kingship and Authority in South Asia,* ed. J. F. Richards, p. 235.

142. Shankar Gopal Tulpule, *Classical Marathi* Literature,* History of Indian Literature IX/4 (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1979), pp. 334-35.

143. Eleanor Zelliot, "A Medieval Encounter between Hindu and Muslim: Eknath's Drama-Poem *Hindu-Turk* Samvad*," in *Images of Man: Religion and Historical Process in South Asia,* ed. Fred W. Clothey (Madras: New Era Publications, 1982), p. 171.

144. Ch. Vaudeville, *Kabir**, vol. I (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1974), pp. 92-95.

145. The last quotation is from *Stories of Indian Saints, Translation of Mahipati's Marathi "Bhaktavijaya,"* trans. Justin E. Abbott and Narhar R. Godbole (2 vols.; Poona, 1933; reprint ed., Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1982), II, 146-52 (ch. 44), which gives a complete but slightly misleading version. The preceding quotations are from the superior translation of excerpts of the story by Hugh van Skyhawk, "Vaisnava* Perceptions of Muslims in 18th Century Maharastra*" (paper presented at conference on regional varieties of Islam in premodern India, University of Heidelberg, July 1989), pp. 9-10.

146. Mircea Eliade, *Yoga: Immortality and Freedom,* trans. Willard R. Trask, Bollingen Series LVI (2nd ed.; Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969), pp. 5-6, 100.

147. Gokhale, p. 157, citing G. B. Nirantar, *Marathi Vangmayacha Paramarsha* (Poona, 1971), pp. 181-82.

148. Ibid., p. 157, citing D. K. Kelkar, *Marathi Sahityache Simhavalokana* (Poona, 1963), p. 89.

149. V. D. Rao, "The Maratha Bardic Poetry," *The Modem Review* 124 (1969), pp. 749-52.

150. Gokhale, pp. 162-71, gives a detailed survey of modern Maratha views of Islam.

151. P. N. Oak, *The Taj Mahal is a Hindu Temple* (3rd ed., New Delhi: P. N. Oak, 1974).

152. Wilfred Cantwell Smith, "The Crystallization of Religious Communities in Mughul India," in his *On Understanding Islam: Selected Studies,* Religion and Reason 19 (The Hague: Mouton, 1981), pp. 177-96.

153. Ibid., p. 195.

154. Eric Voegelin, *The Ecumenic Age,* pp. 114ff.

155. H. A. R. Gibb, "An Interpretation of Islamic History," "Evolution of Government in Early Islam," and "Arab-Byzantine Relations under the Umayyad Caliphate," in *Studies on the Civilization of Islam,* ed. Stanford J. Shaw and William R. Polk (Boston: Beacon Press, 1962), pp. 3-61.

156. S. D. Goitein, "A Turning-Point in the History of the Muslim State," in *Studies in Islamic Institutions* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1966), pp. 149-67; H. A. R. Gibb, "The Social Significance of the Shuubiya," in *Studies on the Civilization of Islam,* pp. 62-73.

157. Hubert Darke, trans., *The Book of Government or Rules for Kings* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1960).

158. E.G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia,* II, 129-47.

159. Clifford Bosworth, "The Development of Persian Culture under the Early Ghaznavids," *Iran VI* (1968), pp. 33-44, reprinted in his *The Medieval History of Iran, Afghanistan and Central Asia* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1977), essay no. 18.

160. Oleg Grabar and Sheila Blair, *Epic Images and Contemporary History: The Illustrations of the Great Mongol Shahnama* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980); Martin Bernard Dickson and Stuart Cary Welch, *The Houghton Shahnameh* (2 vols., Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981).

161. Zabih * Allah* Safa*, "Hamasa-ha-yi* tarikhi* wa dini* dar `ahd-i Safavi*," *Iran** nama* I (1361/1982), pp. 5-21.

162. Schimmel, "Turk and Hindu."

163. K. A. Nizami, "The Early Turkish Sultans of Delhi," in Habib and Nizami, pp. 280-85.

164. K. A. Nizami, "Muhammad Bin Tughluq," in Habib and Nizami, pp. 563-65. Afsar Saleem Khan calls the new composite state an "Indo-Muslim polity" rather than a purely Turkish one; cf. Introduction to Ziya'* al-Din Barani*, *Fatawa-i** *Jahandari**, p. 71.

165. For the theory of universal empire in Hindu tradition, see André Wink, *Land and Sovereignty in India, Agrarian Society and Politics under the Eighteenth-*

century Maratha Svarajya * (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), pp. 12-19.

166. A recent example of the romantic wish to see modem Hindu nationalism in medieval India is V. S. Naipaul's *India: A Wounded Civilization* (New York: Vintage Books, 1978).

167. Afsar Saleem Khan, Introduction to Barani*, pp. 25, 31, 40-46.

168. Gayumars*, the primal human in Iranian myth, is also the first king according to the traditions recorded in Firdawsi's* *Shah** *nama**. Gayumars* naturally has no place in the family of the biblical or Qur'anic* Adam, except in an artificial political construction such as Barani's*.

169. Barani*, *Fatawa**, pp. 334ff.

170. Afsar Saleem Khan, Introduction to Barani*, pp. 68-70.

171. Ibid., p. 102.

172. Barani*, *Fatawa**, pp. 200, 222.

173. Afsar Saleem Khan, Introduction to Barani*, p. 89.

174. Barani*, *Fatawa**, pp. 140-41.

175. Ibid., p. 232.

176. Afsar Saleem Khan, Introduction to Barani*, p. 72.

177. Ibid., pp. 102, 273.

178. Barani*, *Fatawa**, pp. 272-73.

179. Ibid., pp. 233-34.

180. Ibid., pp. 95, 140.

181. Ibid., pp. 1l4, 336ff. (Alexander).

182. Afsar Saleem Khan, Introduction to Barani*, pp. 118-19.

183. Barani*, *Fatawa**, p. 233.

184. Ibid., p. 237.

185. Ibid., p. 108.

186. Oleg Grabar, *The Formation of Islamic Art* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973), pp. 45-48.

187. Ibn Battutah, *Travels in Asia and Africa 1325-1354,* trans. H. A. R. Gibb, ed. E. Denison Ross and Eileen Power (London, 1926; reprint ed., Karachi: Indus Publications, 1986), pp. 148, 308, where Ibn Battuta* proclaims Abu `Inan of Morocco as supreme over the seven others.

188. Barani *, *Fatawa*, p. 252.

189. Ziya'* al-Din* Barani*, *Tarikh-i* Firuz* Shahi*, ed. Sayyid Ahmad* Khan* under the supervision of W. Nassau Lees and Kabir* al-Din* (Calcutta: Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1860-62), pp. 262-64, Urdu trans., Sayyid Mu`in* al-Haqq* (Lahore: Urdu Science Board, 1983), pp. 389-91.

190. The idea of the Mongol conquest as a religious one was not peculiar to Barani*. According to the Persian historian Vassaf*, the Jewish wazir* Sa`d al-Dawla (executed in 1291) unsuccessfully tried to convince the Il-Khan* ruler Arghun* that Chingiz* Khan* had been a prophet, and that Arghun* as a descendant of Chingiz* Khan* had inherited this office; adopting this policy would then amount to founding a new religious community (*umma*) that would replace Islam. Cf. Alessandro Bausani, "Religion under the Mongols," *The Cambridge History of Iran,* vol. V, ed. J. A. Boyle (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), p. 541.

191. Barani*, *Tarikh*, pp. 264-66, Urdu trans., pp. 391-93.

192. Banarsi Prasad Saksena rejects the account on historical grounds in "Alaud-din Khalji*," in Habib and Nizami, pp. 336-37.

193. Although `Ala'* al-Din was supposed to have prohibited alcohol in Delhi, it was for the reason that it contributed to rebellion and conspiracy; Banarsi Prasad Saksena, "Alauddin Khalji*," in Habib and Nizami, pp. 349-50.

194. Although `Ala'* al-Mulk only specified the consolidation of Khalji* rule over Hindustan, i.e., northern India, his inclusion of Chanderi, Dhar, and Ujjain in central India as areas to be conquered implicitly suggests the possibility of military action against rajas of the Deccan.

195. Barani*, *Fatawa*, p. 18. Barani* completely misrepresents Shafi`i's* position; cf. Banarsi Prasad Saksena, "Alauddin Khalji*," in Habib and Nizami, p. 363.

196. Barani*, *Tarikh*, pp. 291-92, Urdu trans., pp. 427-28; Banarsi Prasad Saxena, "Alauddin Khalji*," in Habib and Nizami, pp. 352-66.

197. Saxena, pp. 361-62.

198. Afsar Saleem Khan, Introduction to Barani*, pp. 40-41.

199. Ibid., p. 19.

200. Muhammad* Ikram*, *Ab-i* Kawsar,* pp. 128-29, citing Barani's* *Sahifa-i* na`t-i Muhammadi*, as published in *Darbar-i* milli*, pp. 78-80; there this debate is said to have occurred in the realm of Iltutmish, with the minister Nizam* al-Mulk Junaydi* furnishing the practical argument against extermination of Hindus.

201. Barani*, *Fatawa*, pp. 167-68, apparently describes the wealth and freedom enjoyed by Hindus in his own time; cf. translation of the passage by Banarsi Prasad Saxena, "Alauddin Khalji*," in Habib and Nizami, pp. 355-56.

202. Afsar Saleem Khan, Introduction to Barani*, p. 122, also attributing the Seljuk wazir Nizam* al-Mulk's wrath against Isma`ili* heretics to a similar political expediency.

203. Banarsi Prasad Saxena, "Firuz * Shah* Tughluq," in Habib and Nizami, pp. 609-10.

204. K. A. Nizami, "The Futuhat-i-Firuz* Shahi* As A Medieval Inscription," *Proceedings of the Seminar on Medieval Inscriptions,* pp. 28-35.

205. B. N. Goswamy and J. S. Grewal, *The Mughals and the Jogis of Jakhbar, Some Madad-i-Ma`ash* and Other Documents* (Simla: Indian Institute of Advanced Study, 1967); id., *The Mughul and Sikh Rulers and the Vaishnavas of Pindori, A Historical Interpretation of 52 Persian Documents* (Simla: Indian Institute of Advanced Study, 1969).

206. Grewal and Goswamy, *Jogis,* pp. 20-21; J. J. Modi, "The Parsees at the Court of Akbar, and Dastur Meherji Ráná," *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society,* vol. 21, no. 58 (1901), reprinted in *Contributions on Akbar and the Parsees,* ed. B. P. Ambashthya (Patna: Janaki Prakashan, 1976), with facsimiles, transcriptions, and translations of the relevant revenue documents.

207. Yusuf* Husain Khan*, ed., *Farmans and Sanads of the Deccan Sultans* (Hyderabad: State Archives, Government of Andhra Pradesh, 1963), no. 14, pp. 40-41; for samples of *agraharam** grants, see M. G. Dikshit, *Selected Inscriptions from Maharashtra (5th to 12th Century A.D.),* Swiya Grantha Mala, no. 67 (Poona: Bharat Itihas Samshodhaka Mandal, 1962), pp. 106-9.

208. Iqtidar Husain Siddiqi, "Wajh-i-Ma`ash Chants under the Afghan Kings (1451-1555)," *Medieval India, A Miscellany II* (1972), pp. 19-45; W. H. Siddiqi, "Religious Tolerance As Gleaned From Medieval Inscriptions," *Proceedings of the Seminar on Medieval Inscriptions,* pp. 53-58; Upendra Nath Day, *Medieval Malwa, A Political and Cultural History, 1401-1562* (Delhi: Munshi* Ram Manohar Lal, 1965), Appendix D, "The Jains in Malwa," pp. 422-28, 437-39; K. D. Swaminathan, "Two Nawabs of the Carnatic and the Sri Rangam Temple," *Medieval India: A Miscellany Ill* (1975), pp. 184-87; M. A. Ansari, *Administrative Documents of Mughul India* (Delhi: B. R. Publishing Corporation, 1984), giving a series of twenty documents from the Jangams of Benares, dated from 1563 to the 1720s.

209. David Morgan, *The Mongols* (Cambridge, Mass.: Basil Blackwell, 1990), p. 44.

210. Grewal and Goswami, p. 22; other terms used include *madad-i ma`ash** ("means of living") and *in`am** ("benefice").

211. G. A. Deleury, *The Cult of Vithoba** (Poona: Deccan College, 1960), p. 39.

212. W. H. Siddiqi, "Religious Tolerance As Gleaned From Medieval Inscriptions," p. 53, citing the Sanskrit inscription published by P. B. Desai, *Epigraphia Indica,* vol. 32 (1957-58), p. 168.

213. Athar Ali*, "The Religious Issue in the War of Succession," *Medieval India Quarterly* V (1963), pp. 80-87.

214. Jnan Chandra has discussed Awrangzib's* patronage of Hindus in a series of articles in the *Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society:* "Awrangzib* and Hindu

Temples," V (1957), pp. 254ff.; "`Alamgir's * Grants to Hindu Pujaris," VI (1958), pp. 55-65; "`Alamgir's* Patronage of Hindu Temples ," VI (1958), pp. 208-13; "`Alamgir's* Tolerance in the Light [of] Contemporary Jain Literature," VI (1958), pp. 269-72; "`Alamgir's* Grant to a Brahmin," VII (1959), pp. 99-100. See also S. M. Jaffar, "Religious Views of Akbar and Aurangzeb as Disclosed by Contemporary Archives," *The Proceedings of the All Pakistan History Conference, First Session, Karachi, 1951* (Karachi: Pakistan Historical Society, 1952), pp. 271-75.

215. For examples, see Hardy, "The Growth of Authority," pp. 202, 205, 208; N. Venkataramanayya, *Early Muslim Expansion in South India* (Madras: University of Madras, 1942), pp. 121-22.

216. W. Doderet, "A Fourteenth Century Marathi Inscription," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 5 (1930), pp. 37-42, recording the trust established by the minister of a local ruler of the Konkan* for offerings to be used in temple worship; the inscription is dated 769 according to the Islamic *hijri** calendar (1367 C.E.), and therefore assumes some kind of Muslim overlord.

217. Speros Vryonis, *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization from the Eleventh through the Fifteenth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971), p. 402.

218. Ibid., p. 356.

219. Hardy, "The Growth of Authority," p. 194.

220. Avasthy and Ghosh, "References to Muhammadans in Sanskrit Inscriptions," p. 181, no. 46.

221. For South Asia as "the realm of the universal Emperor," see Wink, *Land and Sovereignty in India, p. 16.*

222. D.C. Sircar, *Studies in Indian Coins* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1968), p. 19.

223. Dines Chandra Sircar, *Select Inscriptions bearing on Indian History and Civilization,* vol. II (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1983), pp. 650-51; idem, *Studies in Indian Coins,* p. 19. This Sanskrit version of the Muslim profession of faith forms an interesting counterpart to the first Muslim coins struck in North Africa in the seventh century, which contained a similar formula in Latin: *non est deus nisi solus deus cui non socius alius,* "there is no god but the one God who has no partner"; cf. K. A. C. Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture,* 2 vols. (2nd ed., New York: Hacker Art Books, 1979), I, 131.

224. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions,* pp. 653-65, 673. More complete listings can be found in Edward Thomas, *The Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Dehli* (Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1967), and in H. Nelson Wright, *The Coinage and Metrology of the Sultans* of Dehli** (Delhi: Manager of Publications, Government of India, 1936).

225. S. K. Bhuyan, *Annals of the Delhi Badshahate, Being a translation of the old Assamese chronicle Padshah-Buranji** (Gauhati: Government of Assam, Department of Historical and Antiquarian Studies, 1947), pp. 55-56, 58.

226. The name of the priest, Sarbabhaum, has overtones of the Indian concept of world dominion, Sanskrit *sarvabhauma* * meaning "possessing the entire earth"; see Wink, *Land and Sovereignty,* p. 16, n. 31.

227. Ibid., pp. 74, 76.

228. A curious later example is the genealogy that the Ranas of Udaipur constructed on the basis of the Persian *Shah** *nama**, tracing their descent from Persian shah Nushirvan's* son Noshizad and the daughter of the Roman emperor. The Sisodia Rajputs likewise at one time claimed to be descended from Maha* Banu*, daughter of Yazdigard, the last Sasanian* king of Iran. These adoptions of Iranian royal genealogy by Rajputs show how compelling the authority of Persian kingship could be. Cf. James Tod, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajast'han, or The Central and Western Rajpoots of India,* 2 vols. (London: George Routledge & Sons Limited, 1914 [reprint of 1829-32 ed.]), I, 192.

229. Vasundhara Filliozat, *Épigraphie de Vijayanagar du début à 1377* (Paris: École Française d'Extrême Orient, 1973), p. 23, no. 35; p. 24, no. 36; p. 41, no. 50; p. 90, no. 101; p. 130, no. 138. In Sanskrit, *suratrana** is the attested rendering of the Arabic title *sultan**; *see* Avasthy and Ghosh, "References to Muhammadans in Sanskrit Inscriptions," p. 180, no. 44.

230. Hermann Kulke, "Ein hinduistischer Tempel unter muslimischer Herrschaft," *Saeculum* 27 (1976), pp. 366-75.

231. Prof. Srinivasachari, "Gingee," in Habib and Nizami, pp. 1106-08; George W. Spencer, "Crisis of Authority in a Hindu Temple under the Impact of Islam: Srirangam in the Fourteenth Century," in *Religion and the Legitimation of Power in South Asia, ed.* Bardwell Smith (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1978). A related literary work is the Sanskrit *Madhura** *Vijaya* by Gangadevi*, queen of Vijayanagar, which describes in the most colorful epic terms the overthrow of the sultanate of Madura (Ma`bar) in the late fourteenth century. See Chaitanya, p. 282; S. Selvin Kumar, "A Case Study of Madura Vijayam," in *Bias in Indian Historiography,* ed. Devahuti (Delhi: D. K. Publications, 1980), pp. 236-39; and K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *Sources of Indian History with Special Reference to South India* (New York: Asia Publishing House, n.d.), p. 83.

232. Wink, *Land and Sovereignty in India,* p. 218.

233. K. A. Nizami, "The Early Turkish Sultans of Delhi," in Habib and Nizami, p. 219, citing `Abd al-Razzaq's* *al-Hawadith** *al-jami`a** (Baghdad), p. 263, and Barani*, pp. 103-5, who tells of Qazi* Jalal* `Arus* bringing from the caliph in Baghdad a book written by the caliph al-Ma'mun*, detailing the pious behavior of the caliph Harun* al-Rashid*. The latter account sounds suspiciously like the other fictitious ancient books that Barani* concocted in his *Fatawa-i** *jahandari**.

234. Abdul Karim, *Social History of the Muslims in Bengal (Down to A.D. 1538)* (Dacca: Asiatic Society of Pakistan, 1959), p. 47.

235. Thomas W. Arnold, *The Caliphate* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1924; reissued with an additional chapter by Sylvia G. Haim, Lahore: Oxford University Press, 1965), p. 87.

236. Arnold, p. 105.

237. K. A. Nizami, "Muhammad Bin Tughluq," in Habib and Nizami, pp. 537-83.

238. Firuz * Shah*, *Futuhat-i* Firuz* Shahi*, ed. Shaikh Abdur Rashid (Aligarh: Department of History, Muslim University, 1954), pp. 18-19; Arnold, p. 105.

239. Mahdi Husain, *Tughluq Dynasty* (Calcutta: Thacker Spinck & Co. [1933] Pvt. Ltd., 1963), p. 277; Nizami, "Muhammad Bin Tughluq," in Habib and Nizami, p. 537.

240. Arnold J. Toynbee, *A Study of History* (London: Oxford University Press, 1954), VII, 7-16.

241. R. P. Tripathi, *Some Aspects of Muslim Administration in India,* pp. 36-37, cited in Habib and Nizami, p. 284. Claims of caliphal support by minor kings in India were in the same way challenges to Tughluq supremacy; cf. the claim of the sultan of Ma`bar, Nasir* al-Din* Mahmud* Damghan* Shah*, in a coin of 745/1344-45, claiming to be "helper of the Commander of the Faithful," cited by S. A. Q. Husaini, "The Sultanate of Ma`bar," in *History of Medieval Deccan (1295-1724),* ed. H. K. Sherwani and P.M. Joshi (2 vols., Hyderabad: Government of Andhra Pradesh, 1973-74), I, 65.

242. Minhaj-i* Siraj*, *Tabaqat-i* Nasiri*, pp. 639-40; not translated by Raverty, II, 858, on the grounds that it was "scarcely worth insertion here."

243. Arnold, pp. 106, 109-11.

244. Badr-i Chach*, *Qasa'id**, with *Farhang* by Muhammad* Hadi* `Ali* (Cawnpore: Nawal Kishor, 1884), pp. 14 (lines 1-4, 7, 9, 10), 15 (lines 3, 6).

245. Some other odes of Badr-i Chach* are translated by Sir Henry Elliot in Elliot and Dowson, II, 567-73.

246. Azad* Bilgrami*, *Khizana-i* `Amira**, cited by Shibli* Nu`mani*, Shi`r *al-'ajam* (Islamabad: National Book Foundation, 1972 [1341]), IV, 125.

247. Amir* Khusraw, *Diwan-i* nihayat* al-kamal**, ed. Sayyid Yasin* ``Ali* Nizami* Dihlawi* (Delhi: Matba`-i* Qaysariyya*, 1332), pp. 42, 43.

248. Mohammad Wahid Mirza, *The Life and Works of Amir Khusrau* (Delhi: Idarah-i Adabiyat-i Delli, 1974), p. 126, n. 4.

249. S. A. Q. Husaini, "The Sultanate of Ma`bar," in Sherwani and Joshi, I, 65.

250. `Isami*, *Futuh* al-salatin**, ed. Mahdi* Husayn* (Agra, 1938), p. 573. Jalal* al-Din* Muhammad Shah*, sultan of Bengal, claimed the title of caliph in coins minted in 824/1430, although he had previously received investiture from the caliph in Egypt and acknowledged it in earlier coinage (Abdul Karim, *Social History of the Muslims in Bengal,* p. 47).

251. Muhammad* `Abd al-Jabbar* Mulkapuri*, *Tazkira-i salatin-i* Dakan,* vol. I, *Dar bayan-i* salatin-i* Bahmaniyya* (Hyderabad: Matba`-i* Fakhr-i Nizami*, n.d.), p. 70.

252. `Ayn al-Din * Bijapuri*, *Mulhaqat-i* tabaqat-i* Nasiri**, quoted by `Abd al-Jabbar* Mulkapuri*, *Tazkira-i salatin-i* Dakan,* p. 239 (`Ayn al-Din's* work is no longer available, since `Abd al-Jabbar's* unique copy was destroyed).

253. Meier, *Abu* Sa`id,** pp. 327-29, surveys examples of this "hagiographic motif."

254. See my "From Hagiography to Martyrology," pp. 325-26.

255. A. K. S. Lambton, "The Theory of Kingship in the *Nasihat ul-Muluk* of Ghazali," in *Theory and Practice in Medieval Persian Government* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1980), p. 51.

256. A. K. S. Lambton, "Quis Custodiet Custodes: Some Reflections on the Persian Theory of Government, I," in *Theory and Practice in Medieval Persian Government,* pp. 137-38, citing Razi's* *Mirsad* al-`ibad**; cf. the translation by Hamid Algar, *The Path of God's Bondsmen from Origin to Return,* Persian Heritage Series, no. 35 (Delmar, N.Y.: Caravan Books, 1982).

257. Lambton, "Quis Custodiet Custodes," p. 147.

258. Lambton, "The Theory of Kingship," p. 148; Afsar Saleem Khan, Introduction to Barani*, p. 120.

259. Sayyid Muhammad* Mubarak* al-`Alawi* al-Kirmani* Mir* Khwurd, *Siyar al-awliya'**, (Delhi: Matba`-i* Muhibb-i* Hind, 1302/1884-85; reprint ed., Islamabad: Markaz-i Tahqiqat-i* Farsi-i* Iran* u Pakistan*, 1398/1978), pp. 322-23.

260. Afsar Saleem Khan, Introduction to Barani*, pp. 24-25.

261. Barani*, *Fatawa**, pp. 21-23; Barani* as usual provides a spurious ancient source for the story, in this case a *Tarikh-i* khulafa-i* `Abbasi* ascribed* to the philologian al-Asma`i*.

262. Afsar Saleem Khan, Introduction to Barani*, pp. 49-53.

263. Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, "Introduction," in Hamid* Qalandar, comp., *Khayr al-Majalis**, ed. Khaliq Ahmad Nizami (Aligarh: Department of History, Muslim University, 1959), pp. 49-58.

264. `Abd al-Rahman* ibn Ahmad* Jami*, *Nafahat* al-uns min hazarat* al-quds,* ed. Mahdi* Tawhidipur* (Tehran: Kitabfurushi* Mahmudi*, 1337/1959), pp. 323-31.

265. Bruce B. Lawrence, "The *Lawa'ih** of Qadi* Hamid* ad-din* Nagauri*," *Indo-Iranica* 20 (1975), pp. 34-53; id., *Notes from a Distant Flute, The Extant Literature of pre-Mughal Indian Sufism* (Tehran: Imperial Iranian Academy of Philosophy, 1978), pp. 60-62.

266. See my "From Hagiography to Martyrology," pp. 317ff.

267. The collection of Abu* Yazid's* sayings by al-Sahlaji*, *Kitab* al-nur* min kalimat* Abi** Tayfur*, was edited by `Abd al-Rahman* Badawi* as *Shatahat* al-Sufiyya**,

part 1, *Abu * Yazid* al-Bistami**, Darasat* Islamiyya* 9 (Cairo, 1949). Louis Massignon reconstructed the traditional body of Hallaj's* sayings in *Akhbar* al-Hallaj**, *Recueil d'oraisons et d'exhortations du martyr mystique de l'Islam,* ed. and trans. Louis Massignon and Paul Kraus, Études Musulmanes IV (3rd ed., Paris: Librairie Philosophique J. Vrin, 1957).

268. Fritz Meier, *Abu* Sa`id**, pp. 19-21.

269. Ibid., p. 22, n. 9.

270. Jalal* al-Din* Rumi*, *Fihi* ma* fihi**, ed. Badi`* al-Zaman* Furuzanfar* (Tehran: Shirkat-i Sihami-i* Nashirin-i* Kutub-i Iran*, 1338/1959); A. J. Arberry, trans., *Discourses of Rumi** (London: John Murray, 1961).

271. Muhammad* Taqi* Bahar*, *Sabk-shinasi* ya* tarikh-i* tatawwur-i* nasr-i Farsi** (2nd ed., 3 vols.; Tehran: Mu'assasa-i Chap* wa Intisharat-i* Amir-i* Kabir*, 1337/1959), II, 198.

272. Meier, p. 21.

273. Ziya-ul-Hasan Faruqi, trans., "Fawa'id-ul-Fu'ad of Khwajah Hasan De-hlawi," *Islam and the Modern Age* 13 (1982), 33-44, 126-41, 169-80, 210-28; 14 (1983), 195-213; 15 (1984), 25-36, 167-92; 16 (1985), 231-42, etc. Bruce B. Lawrence's complete translation of *Fawa'id* al-fu'ad** is forthcoming. For a description of several other *malfuzat**, see Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, "Historical Significance of the Malfuz Literature of Medieval India," in his *On History and Historians of Medieval India* (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt. Ltd., 1982), pp. 163-97.

274. Amir* Hasan* `Ala'* Sijzi*, *Fawa'id* al-Fu'ad**, ed. Muhammad* Latif* Malik (Lahore: Malik Siraj* al-Din* and Sons, Publishers, 1386/1966). The text is divided into five "books" recording the sessions of Nizam* al-Din* in chronological order, from Sha`ban* 707/January 1308 to Sha`ban* 722/August 1322.

275. On the works of Hasan*, see M. I. Borah, "The Life and Works of Amir Hasan Dihlavi," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Letters* VII (1941), 1-59; Hasan* Dihlawi*, *Diwan**, ed. Mas`ud* `Ali* Mahwi* (Hyderabad: Ibrahimiyah Steam Press, 1352/1933). The name "Sanjari*" sometimes attached to Hasan* derives from a mistaken reading of "Sijzi*" (i.e., from Seistan in eastern Iran).

276. Mir* Khwurd, *Siyar al-awliya'**, p. 318. See also Borah, p. 52.

277. Hasan* Sijzi*, *Fawa'id* al-fu'ad**, p. 49.

278. Ibid., pp. 50-51.

279. Ibid., p. 39.

280. Ibid., p. 199.

281. Mir* Khwurd (pp. 362-63) quotes an Arabic document in the handwriting of Nizam* al-Din*, praising Abu* Hurayra and his mantle, and equating it as a repository of knowledge with the cloak (*khirqa*) of `Ali*, the very same cloak with which Muhammad* wrapped `Ali*, Hasan*, Husayn*, and Fatima* as the "people of the house" (*ahl al-bayt*).

282. Barani, *Tarikh-i * Firuz* Shahi**, p. 347, as quoted by Nizami, *Thirteenth Century,* p. 198.

283. Lawrence, *Notes,* p. 45, referring to *Durar-i Nizamiyya** (MS 183 Persian, Buhar Collection, National Library, Calcutta). Cf. Nizami, "Introduction," in Hamid* Qalandar, comp., *Khayr al-majalis**, p. 1.

284. Muhammad* Shakil* Ahmad* Siddiqi*, *Amir* Hasan* Sijzi* Dihlawi**, *hayat* awr adabi* khidmat** (Lucknow: Muhammad* Shakil* Ahmad* Siddiqi*, 1979), pp. 218-71.

285. Nizami, *Thirteenth Century,* p. 374.

286. Lawrence, *Notes,* pp. 28-30, translating *Khayr al-majalis**, *majlis* 18, pp. 69-70.

287. Hamid* Qalandar, *Khayr al-majalis**, p. 31.

288. Ibid., p. 218.

289. Muhammad* Gisu* Daraz*, *Jawami`* al-kalim,* p. 134, cited by Nizami, Introduction to *Khayr al-majalis**, p. 5, n. 2.

290. Ibid., p. 47.

291. Paul Jackson, "Khair Al-Majalis: An Examination," in *Islam in India: Studies and Commentaries,* vol. 2, *Religion and Religious Education,* ed. Christian W. Troll (Delhi: Vikas Publishing House Pvt Ltd., 1985), pp. 34-57.

292. K. A. Nizami, Introduction to *Khayr al-majalis**, p. 6 (citing *Jawami`* al-kalim,* p. 135).

293. Hamid* Qalandar, *Khayr al-majalis**, p. 279.

294. Ibid., pp. 123-24. Jackson ("Khair A1-Majalis," p. 35) too hastily dismissed this type of anecdote in his analysis of the text.

295. Kendall A. Folkert, "The 'Canons' of 'Scripture,'" in *Rethinking Scripture: Essays from a Comparatives Perspective,* ed. Miriam Levering (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1989), pp. 170-79.

296. Hamid* Qalandar, *Khayr al-majalis**, pp. 8-9. This book is not extant. According to the seventeenth-century biographer Khwishagi*, the book was entitled *Nafa'is* al-anfas** (*Ma`arij* al-wilaya** I, 347, cited by Nizami, *Khayr al-majalis**, p. 4, n. 1); this is quite unlikely, however, in view of Burhan* al-Din* Gharib's* *malfuzat** of the same name compiled by Rukn al-Din* Kashani*, which was well-known in the Deccan, according to Rukn al-Din's* brother Hammad* al-Din* (*Ghara'ib**, p. 3).

297. *Khayr al-majalis**, pp. 9-10.

298. Ibid., pp. 284-85.

299. Ibid., p. 10.

300. Ibid., p. 12.

301. Ibid., p. 279.

302. Majd al-Din * Kashani*, *Ghara'ib* al-karamat**, MS Fariduddin Saleem, Khuldabad. In the introduction the author states that it was written after Rukn al-Din's* *Nafa'is* al-anfas** and Hammed* al-Din's* *Ahsan* al-aqwal**, and the formulas used in benediction of Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* (*tayyaba* allahu* marqadahu*) indicate that it was written after the latter's death, possibly with additions as late as 766/1364-65.

303. *Ghara'ib* al-karamat**, p. 14. This incident, which occurs as the first *mukashafat** or revelation in the book, has a certain prominence, mirroring that given to the contrary story, which Hamid* Qalandar likewise put at the beginning of his book.

304. Ibid., p. 31.

305. Rukn al-Din* Dabir* Kashani*, *Nafa'is* al-anfas**, MS Fariduddin Saleem, Khuldabad, containing 135 pages. Another copy exists at the library of Nadwat al-`Ulama' academy in Lucknow.

306. *Nafa'is* al-anfas**, p. 3.

307. Ibid.

308. Ibid., p. 4.

309. Ibid., p. 10.

310. Hammad* al-Din* Kashani*, *Ahsan* al-aqwal**, MS in collection of Mr. Fariduddin Saleem, Khuldabad, containing 149 pages, copied by Fayz* Muhammad* son of Hafiz* Amin* in 1130/1718. Another MS is in the collection of K. A. Nizami, Aligarh; cf. Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, "A Note on *Ahsan-al-Aqwal," Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society* 3 (1955), pp. 40-44. Additional copies are found at Aligarh (no. FM 318) and Osmania University (nos. 478 and 1479).

311. E.g., the use of the word *khayr* (good) instead of na (not) as a negative (cf. modern Persian *nakhayr,* "no"), to ward off ill omen, as in the phrase khayr *danam**, "I do not know" (a few examples are seen in *Ahsan* al-aqwal**, pp. 14, 44, 68). This habit of speech can still be observed in Punjabi and in Turkish today.

312. Hammad* al-Din* Kashani* Chishti*, *Ahsan* al-aqwal* Urdu* al-ma`ruf* bi-afzal* al-maqal**, trans. Muhammad* `Abd al-Majid* (Hyderabad, 1342; reprint ed., Miraj: Ganj Bakhsh Publications, 1987). There are notable discrepancies between the Khuldabad MS and the Urdu translation, with a significant number of practices appearing in one text but not the other.

313. Hammad* al-Din*, *Ahsan* al-aqwal**, p. 147.

314. Ibid., p. 141.

315. Ibid., p. 4.

316. Majd al-Din* Kashani*, *Ghara'ib* al-karamat* wa `aja'ib* al-mukashafat**, MS in collection of Mr. Fariduddin Saleem, Khuldabad, containing 83 pages. The copy was begun 1 Muharram* 1315 (June 2, 1897) and completed 15 Dhu* al-Qa`da 1317 (April

16, 1900), copied in a ragged hand by Muhammad * Wali* Allah* wuld-i Haji* Wali* Muhammad*. Another copy is in the Salar Jung Museum Library, Hyderabad, MS 876 Tarajim* Farsiyya*. A copy is supposed to exist in the Andhra Pradesh State Oriental Manuscript Library, Hyderabad (formerly the Asafiyya* Library), but I was unable to get access to it. A MS was reported to be in the library of the Panchakki Khanqah* in Awrangabad (now in custody of the Awqaf Department of Maharashtra), but a search in 1981 proved fruitless; cf. "Literary Treasures of Aurangabad," *Islamic Culture* XVI (1942), p. 451, note.

317. Ibid., p. 3.

318. Ibid., pp. 6-12.

319. *Nafa'is** *al-anfas**, pp. 100, 123.

320. *Ghara'ib** *al-karamat**, pp. 17-18, 22, 39, 43, 45, 46, 49, 74, 75.

321. Ibid., pp. 13-16, 18, 23, 25, 26, 28, 30, 33-35, 37, 39, 42, 44, 47.

322. I am not aware of the existence of any copies of this text, but some quotations are given in the standard modern Urdu hagiography of Khuldabad by Rawnaq `Ali*, *Rawzat** *al-aqtab** *al-ma`ruf** *bi-mazhar-i** *asafiyya** (Lucknow: Dilgudaz* Press, 1931), and in the translator's notes to the 1739 hagiography by Ghulan* `Ali* Azad* Bilgrami*, *Rawzat** *al-awliya'** pp. 13, 19, 25, 31-32, 41, 45, 86, 135.

323. Majd al-Din*, *Ghara'ib** *al-karamat**, p. 12.

324. Rukn al-Din* ibn `Imad* al-Din* Dabir* Kashani* Khuldabadi*, *Shama'il** *al-atqiya'**, ed. Sayyid `Ata'* Husayn*, Silsila-i Isha`at* al-`Ulum*, 85 (Hyderabad: Matbu'a* Ashraf Press, 1347). A few fascicles of an earlier and somewhat defective edition were published by Shah* Khayrat Husayn* Firdawsi* (Hyderabad: Abu* al-Ma`ali*, 1326/1908), but it was never completed, due to a flood that destroyed the press (Sayyid `Ata'* Husayn*, introduction to *Shama'il** *al-atqiya'**, p. 4). The editor of the Ashraf Press lithograph used as the basis for the edition a MS dated Sha'ban* 1151 (November 1738), and compared it with MSS dated Safar* 998 (December 1589), Rabi`* I 1245 (September 1829, in the Asafiyya* collection), and Rabi`* I 1334 (January 1916, a Khuldabad MS). Other examples are MS 1836 Persian (Ethé), India Office Library, London, and MS 29767/14, Subhan* Allah* Collection, Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh.

325. An annotated translation of this "Sufi bookshelf" forms Appendix A.

326. These works include Rukn al-Din's* *Rumuz** *al-walihin** (68 citations), his *Tafsir-i** *rumuz** (perhaps the same work, 10 citations), and two writings by Hammad* al-Din*: *Husul** *al-wusul** (6 citations) and *Asrar** *al-tariqat** (5 citations). It is tempting to speculate that the frequently mentioned *Risala-i** *gharib** (49 citations) was written by a member of this circle, but its authorship is nowhere indicated.

327. Jonathan Z. Smith, "Sacred Persistence: Toward a Redescription of Canon," in his *Imagining Religion: From Babylon to Jonestown* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978), p. 45.

328. Rukn al-Din*, *Shama'il** *al-atqiya'**, p. 3.

329. Shams Allah * Qadiri*, *Urdu-i* qadim** (Lucknow: Tej Kumar*, 1967), pp. 118-19, citing the Urdu translation of *Shama'il* al-atqiya'** by the Qutbshahi-era* writer Miran* Ya`qub* in 1078/1667-68, MS 663 Tasawwuf* Urdu, Asafiyya* collection; ibid., appendix, Zpp. 56-57, giving an excerpt. A more extensive sample of the Urdu translation is found in Sayyida Ja`far, *Dakani* nasr ka* intikhab** (New Delhi: Taraqqi* Urdu Bureau, 1983), pp. 104-20. A scholar at Marathwada University in Aurangabad is preparing a modern Hindi translation of *Shama'il* al-atqiya'** for publication, on the basis of the Urdu version.

330. Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* is quoted in *Shama'il* al-atqiya'** by name sixteen times (pp. 21, 47, 53, 68, 69, 98, 137, 151, 201, 232-33, 238, 316, 382, 383, 384, 381), and as "the revered master" (*khidmat-i khwaja**) another sixteen times (pp. 52, 53, 68, 137, 149, 168, 207, 210, 213, 217, 222, 252, 261, 276, 281, 418).

331. Rukn al-Din*, *Shama'il* al-atqiya'**, p. 4.

332. Barani*, in Nizami, *Thirteenth Century,* p. 197.

333. Lawrence, *Notes,* pp. 21, 97; K. A. Nizami, "The *Sarur-u's-Sudur," Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, Nagpur Session* (1950), pp. 167-69.

334. Hasan* Sijzi*, *Fawa'id* al-fu'ad**, p. 76.

335. Mohammad Habib, "Chishti Mystics Records of the Sultanate Period," *Medieval India Quarterly* 1 (1950), pp. 1-42; reprinted in *Politics and Society During the Early Medieval Period, Collected Works of Professor Mohammad Habib,* vol. I, ed. K. A. Nizami (New Delhi: People's Publishing House, 1974), pp. 385-433, esp. pp. 401-25.

336. See also Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, *The Life and Times of Shaikh Farid-u'd-Din Ganj-i-Shakar,* IAD Religio-Philosophy Series no. 1 (Delhi: Idarah-i Adabiyat-i Delli, 1955; reprint ed., 1973), pp. 118-20; Bruce B. Lawrence, *"Afzal-ul-fawa'id*—a reassessment," in *Life, Times & Works of Amir* Khusrau Dehlavi, Seventh Centenary,* ed. Z. Ansari (New Delhi: National Amir* Khusrau Society, 1976), pp. 119-31.

337. Ibid., p. 124.

338. Habib, "Chishti Mystics Records," I, 430.

339. E.g., Sabah* al-Din* `Abd al-Rahman*, *Bazm-i Sufiyya** (A`zamgarh*: Dar* al-Musannifin*, 1949).

340. Nizami, Introduction to *Khayr al-majalis**, p. 7.

341. *Anis* al-arwah**, *Dalil* al-`arifin**, *Fawa'id* al-salikin**, *Rahat* al-qulub**, and *Asrar* al-mutahayyarin** (a previously unmentioned compilation of Farid* al-Din* Ganj-i Shakkar's sayings) occupy nos. 102 to 106 in the bibliography, and Amir* Khusraw's *Rahat* al-muhibbin** is no. 149. *Fawa'id* al-fu'ad** is no. 107 and *Nafa'is* al-anfas** is no. 108. See Appendix A.

342. *Fawa'id* al-salikin**, cited in *Shama'il* al-atqiya'**, pp. 31, 46; *Rahat* al-muhibbin**, on pp. 58, 65, 67, 93; *Asrar* al-mutahayyarin**, on p. 403.

343. Mir * Hasan*, *Hidayat* al-qulub* wa `inayat* `ullam* al-ghuyub*, MS in collection of Mr. Fariduddin Saleem, Khuldabad, containing 392 pages, but lacking colophon (the last 32 pages are almost completely destroyed). One other copy exists, MS 353 Tasawwuf* Farsi*, Ahdhra Pradesh Oriental Manuscript Research Library [Asafiyya*], Hyderabad, but I could not get access to it.

344. Ibid., pp. 1-2, recalling by the phrase "pearl-bearing words" both *Fawa'id* al-fu'ad*, p. 49, and *Shama'il* al-atqiya'*, p. 4.

345. On pp. 2, 3, and 4 are given the dates of 7, 8, and 9 Rajab 745/14-16 November 1344; on p. 158, 2 Dhu* al-Hijja* 747/16 March 1347; on p. 245, simply the year 766/1364-65; on p. 262 (apparently out of order), *shab-i barat* (14 Sha`ban*) 755/3 September 1354; on p. 332, 7 Dhu* al-Hijja* 768/4 August 1367; and on p. 336, 10 Rabi* I 769/4 November 1367.

346. *Hidayat* al-qulub*, pp. 44, 213.

347. Ibid., pp. 102, 124.

348. These texts by Baha'* al-Din* Zakariyya* include *al-Awrad*>*, ed. Muhammad* Miyan* Siddiqi* (Islamabad: Markaz-i Tahqiqat-i* Farsi-i* Iran* u Pakistan*, 1398/1978), a collection of prayers in Arabic for different times and days, aimed at a popular audience; *Shurut* al-arba`in* fi* julus* al-mu`takifin*, an Arabic manual on retreat, which has been published with an Urdu translation (Muhammad* Latif* Faridi*, *Anwar-i* ghawsiyya* [Lahore: Shu`a`-i* Adab, 1955]) although the sole MS is now lost; and a short *Risala** or epistle on Sufi practice, written at the request of a disciple, published by Shamim* Mahmud* Zaydi*, *Ahwal* u asar-i* Shaykh Baha'* al-Din* Zakariyya* wa khulasat* al-`arifin** (Islamabad: Markaz-i Tahqiqat-i* Farsi-i* Iran* u Pakistan*, 1353/1974), pp. 103-9.

349. K. A. Nizami, "Baha'* al-Din* Zakariyya*," EI^2, I (1960), p. 912, referring to the fifteenth-century hagiographer Jamali*. The anonymous hagiography entitled *Khulasat* al-`arifin**, edited by Zaydi*, *Ahwal* u asar**, pp. 123-71, consists of anecdotes of Baha'* al-Din* as narrated by the later Suhrawardi* master Jalal* al-Din* Bukhari* (d. 785/1384) and by the Chishti* masters Farid* al-Din* Ganj-i Shakkar and Nizam* al-Din* Awliya'*.

350. Lawrence, *Notes,* p. 64, citing the *Kanz al-fawa'id** (sayings of Sadr* al-Din* `Arif*), the >*Majma` al-akhbar** (sayings of Rukn al-Din* Abu* al-Fath*), and the *Fatawa-i* Sufiyya** (on both of the latter).

351. Carl Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur, Supplementband* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1938), II, 310, citing MSS in Leiden, Oxford, Paris, and Istanbul, as well as an abridgement by `Ala'* al-Din* Muhammad* al-Hisni* al-Dimashqi*. A brief excerpt is given by Gustavus Fluegel, *Lexicon Bibliographicum et Encyclopœdicum a Mustafa ben Abdallah Katib Jelebi Dicto et Nomine Haji Khalfa Celebrato Compositum* (London: Oriental Translation Fund, MDCCCXLV), IV, 360-61.

352. A. S. Bazmee Ansari, "Djalal* al-Din* Husayn* al-Bukhari*," EI^2 I (1965), 392; Lawrence, *Notes,* p. 69; Riazul Islam, "Collections of the Malfuzat of Makhdum-i-Jahanian (1307-1388) of Uchh," in *The Proceedings of the All Pakistan History*

Conference, First Session, 1951 (Karachi: Pakistan Historical Society, 1952), pp. 211-16.

353. Lawrence, *Notes,* pp. 76-78. See now Paul Jackson's translation of one of Sharaf al-Din's * *malfuzat**, *Khwan-i* Pur Ni`mat (A table laden with good things)* (Delhi: Idara-i Adabiyyat-i Delli, 1986).

354. Brace B. Lawrence, *"Afzal-ul-fawa'id*—a reassessment," pp. 120, 122.

355. Marilyn R. Waldman, "Primitive Mind/Modem Mind: New Approaches to an Old Problem Applied to Islam," in *Approaches to Islam in Religious Studies,* ed. Richard C. Martin (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1985), pp. 91-105.

356. G. H. A. Juynboll, *The Authenticity of the Tradition Literature: Discussions in Modern Egypt* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1969), pp. 71, 87.

357. Wilfred Cantwell Smith, "Scripture as Form and Concept," in *Rethinking Scripture: Essays from a Comparatives Perspective,* ed. Miriam Levering (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1989), p. 45.

358. Mir* Khwurd, pp. 372-74.

359. Currie, pp. 39, 49, 55-56.

360. Mohammad Habib, "Chishti Mystics Records," pp. 392-93.

361. Mir* Khwurd, pp. 262-83.

362. Kamal* al-Din* held the title Sadr-i* Jahan*, or minister in charge of charitable trusts, under both Ghiyas* al-Din* Tughluq and Muhammad* ibn Tughluq; cf. Barani*, *Tarikh-i* Firuz* Shahi**, pp. 428, 454, Urdu trans., pp. 613, 649.

363. Mir* Khwurd, pp. 283-85.

364. *Fawa'id* al-fu'ad**, pp. 415-16.

365. *Nafa'is* al-anfas**, p. 66.

366. Ibn Battutah, trans. Gibb, pp. 95, 256; *Nafa'is* al-anfas**, p. 130. The same story of the dervishes and the mother elephant is told without names by Rumi* in his *Masnavi** (III, 69-171); cf. Reynold A. Nicholson, ed. and trans., *The Mathnawí of Jalálud'dín Rúmí,* "E. J. W. Gibb Memorial" Series IV (8 vols., London, 1925-40; reprint ed., London: Luzac & Co. Ltd., 1977), translation vol. II, 8-13, lines 69-171.

367. Baha'* al-Din* Mahmud* Nagawri* Chishti*, *Urdu* tarjuma-i kitab-i* sirr al-`arifin* ya`ni* halat-i* mashayikh-i* Chishtiyya* (Lahore: Allah* Wale* ki* Qawmi* Dukan*, 1974). A Persian MS copy is in the collection of K. A. Nizami in Aligarh; cf. *Tarikh-i* mashayikh-i* Chisht* (2nd ed., Delhi: Idara-i* Adabiyyat-i Delli*, 1980-85), I, 192, n. 2. This text appears to be the same as the one by Baha'* al-Din* entitled *Asrar* al-mashuayikh** found in the Asafiyya* catalogue (III, 362, no. 192).

368. This branch of the Chishtiyya derives from Qutb* al-Din* Bakhtiyar* Kaki* through Badr al-Din* Ghaznavi* and Shihab* al-Din* `Ashiq* to `Imad* al-Din*. For references, see Nizami*, *Tarikh**, I, 211-12.

369. Baha' * al-Din* Nagawri*, *Halat**, p. 130.

370. The section on saints in Firishta's *Gulshan-i Ibrahimi** (Lucknow: Nawal Kishor, 1281/1864-65) occupies pp. 374-418.

371. The historical works of Bada'uni* and Abu* al-Fazl* contain more or less extensive biographical sections on Sufis, as do many of the chronicles of regions such as Gujarat.

372. Examples of authors who wrote both religious and political histories are Muhammad* Sadiq*, author of a hagiography (*Kalimat* al-sadiqin**), a court history (*Subh-i* sadiq**), and an important mixed biographical work (*Tabaqat-i* Shahjahani**); and `Aqil* Khan* Razi* (d. 1108/1696), who wrote both a history of Awrangzib* and a *malfuzat** of his Sufi master Burhan* al-Din* Raz-i* Ilahi*.

373. Examples that come to mind include the account of Muhammad* Chishti* assisting Mahmud* of Ghazna's raid on Somnath, cited by Jami* and quoted in the *Mir'at-i* Mas`udi**, in Elliot and Dowson, II, 525. The traditional accounts of Mu`in* al-Din* Chishti's* role in assisting the Ghurid* conquest of Ajmer call for reconsideration in this light.

374. The vast Persian hagiographical literature, much of it produced in India, is described in C. A. Storey's *Persian Literature: A Bio-bibliographical Survey,* 2 vols. (London: Luzac & Co. Ltd., 1927-71), I, 923-1067. A useful survey in Urdu, focusing on the Mughul period, is found in Zuhur* al-Din* Ahmad*, "Awliya'-i* kiram* ke* tazkire*," in *Tarikh-i* adabiyyat-i* Musulmanan-i* Pakistan* u Hind,* ed. Maqbul* Beg Badakhshi*, vol. 4, part 2, *Farsi* adab (1526-1707)* (Lahore: Punjab University, 1971), pp. 620-57. See also Marcia K. Hermansen, "Interdisciplinary Approaches to Islamic Biographical Materials," *Religion* 18 (1988), pp. 163-82.

375. Muhammad* Ghaws Gwaliyari*, *Awrad-i* ghawsiyya* (MS 446 Persian Curzon, Asiatic Society, Calcutta), fols. 97b-107b.

376. See my *Words of Ecstasy,* pp. 124-25.

377. Eric Voegelin, *The Ecumenic Age,* pp. 2-6, 64-67.

378. Bruce B. Lawrence, "Biography and the 17th-Century Qadiriyya of North India," paper presented at the conference on Regional Varieties of Islam in Premodern India, University of Heidelberg, July 1989.

379. Cf. Storey, *Persian Literature,* I, 855-66.

380. This work is best accessible in the Urdu translation by `Abd al-Majid*, which contains many footnotes and six appendices, providing useful information taken from sources that are now lost.

381. Sabzawari*, *Sawanih**, MS 285 Persian, Asiatic Society, Calcutta. Another copy is supposed to be at Osmania University, Hyderabad, under the title *Tazkira-i awliya'-i* Dawlatabad**.

382. Rawnaq `Ali*, *Rawzat* al-aqtab* al-ma`ruf* ba-mazhar-i* Asafi** (Lucknow: Dilgudaz* Press, 1349/1931).

383. Rawnaq `Ali *, pp. 11-16. Some of these texts, such as *Baqiyat* al-karamat* and Dalil* al-salikin** (*an* abridgement of *Hidayat* al-qulub**), *are* no longer available.

384. Muhammad* `Ali* Khan's* *Tazkira-i awliya'-i* Khuldabad* Sharif** (Hyderabad: Commercial Book Depot, n.d.) is part of a series of local hagiographies of Deccan towns; Nur* al-Din* wuld Muhammad* `Umar's *Ta`aruf* chand awliya'-i* ikram* Khuldabad* sharif** (Aurangabad: Azad* Printers, n.d.) contains notes on various saints' and kings' tombs.

385. This booklet, entitled *Rawza-i* sharif**, was published in the 1930s, according to local scholars in Khuldabad, but I have not seen any copy. Kishen Pershad's interest in Sufism is hinted at by Harriet Ronken Lynton and Mohini Rajan, *The Days of the Beloved* (New Delhi: Orient Longman Limited, 1974; reprint ed., 1988), p. 124.

386. Wahida* Nasim*, *Shahan-i* be-taj** (Karachi: Maktaba Asafiyya*, 1988). The author has enthusiastically published here (pp. 9-10) some correspondence from me about her poem, as well as (pp. 155-63) my preliminary summaries of the Khuldabad Mughul revenue documents (above, Appendix C). Thus even the foreign researcher enters into hagiography.

Part Two

1. In what follows, no reference will be made to the didactic Persian poem *Tuhfat* al-nasa'ih**, often attributed to the saint of Khuldabad Yusuf* al-Husayni* Raju* Qattal*, since the researches of Simon Digby have decisively ruled out that attribution; cf. his "The *Tuhfa* i nasa'ih**. of Yusuf* Gada*: An Ethical Treatise in Verse from the Late Fourteenth-Century Dehli* Sultanate," in *Moral Conduct and Authority: the Place of Adab in South Asian Islam,* ed. Barbara Metcalf (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), pp. 91-123.

2. The strictures on the Urdu sources also apply to the massive Arabic biographical dictionary of Indian Muslims by the learned `Abd al-Hayy* ibn Fakhr al-Din* al-Hasani* (d. 1341/1923), *Nuzhat al-khawatir* wa bahjat al-masami`* wa al-nawazir** (9 vols., 2nd ed., Hyderabad: Da'irat* al-ma`arif* al-`Uthmaniyya*, 1386/1966-). It draws upon Arabic, Persian, and Urdu sources of all periods, and is by far the most comprehensive reference book of its kind, but its use of sources is completely uncritical.

3. Muhammad Suleman Siddiqi, *The Bahmani Sufis**, IAD Religio-Philosophy (Original) Series no. 19 (Delhi: Idarah-i Adabiyat-i Delli, 1989), pp. 95-107.

4. `Abd al-Hayy*, II, 88-89, citing an otherwise unknown fourteenth-century *malfuzat** text called *Jami`* al-`ulum**, also says he had gone to Baghdad and become a disciple of Shaykh Shihab* al-Din* `Umar Suhrawardi* himself, the founder of the Suhrawardi* order; he quotes a modern Urdu work called *Tarikh* al-awliya'** for the saint's date of death.

5. `Abd al-Hayy*, II, 143, where he is called Rukn al-Din* ibn Siraj* al-Din*; cf. Mulkapuri*, *Tazkira-i awliya'-i* Dakan* I, 391-93, where the only date given is that of his death.

6. `Abd al-Hayy *, II, 167.

7. Ibid., 95-96. Shams al-Din* Damghani* was a well-known scholar of Delhi who had studied the religious sciences alongside of Nizam* al-Din* Awliya'*; ibid., II, 146. Mulkapuri* (I, 538-41), which is evidently `Abd al-Hayy's* source, cites the *Rawza-i* awliya'-i* Bijapur** as giving `Ayn al-Din's* birth date as 706/1306-7.

8. Firishta, tr. Briggs, II, 310, 319, 350, 398 (Siraj* al-Din*). On `Ayn al-Din's* history, see also `Abd al-Hayy* Habibi's* note in al-Juzjani*, *Tabaqat-i* Nasiri** (Lahore: Danishgah-i* Panjab*, 1954), II, 829-30.

9. The same is true of most of the figures whose biographies appear in works like Mulkapuri's* *Tazkira-i awliya'-i Dakan.* Historians like Muhammad* Ikram* have attempted to use these biographies, but the results are not satisfactory; cf. *Ab-i* Kawsar,* pp. 357-62, on Sufis in the Deccan before the migration, and p. 364, where he lists several Sufis who may or may not have come to Daulatabad at the time of the migration or by order of Nizam* al-Din* Awliya'*.

10. Eaton, pp. 4-5.

11. Ibid., p. 13.

12. Most reviewers of Eaton's book who criticized this theory have been content merely to deny the existence of Warrior Sufis without offering any sustained objections.

13. Bruce B. Lawrence, "Early Indo-Muslim Saints and Conversion," *Islam in Asia,* vol. I, *South Asia, ed.* Yohanon Friedman (Boulder: Westview Press, 1984), p. 121.

14. Eaton, p. 33.

15. The remarks of John Voll on "neo-Sufism," though presented as an abstract typology, provide a suggestive beginning to understanding the role of Sufism in relation to colonialism; cf. his *Islam: Continuity and Change in the Modern Worm* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1982), index, s.v. "neo-Sufism."

16. The problem of understanding the "self-sacrificer" (fida'i*) in Islamic history is obviously too large to discuss here, but it may be observed that almost all descriptions of fanaticism, from Marco Polo's story of the assassins down to current journalistic books on terrorism, rest primarily on the evidence of opponents, and do not attempt to consider the self-interpretation of the groups in question.

17. Eaton, pp. 34-38.

18. Ibid., p. 27.

19. *Ghara'ib* al-karamat**, p. 9, where it is said that Nizam* al-Din* Awliya'* ordered 700 or 800 saints to be in the company of Burhan* al-Din* Gharib*.

20. Bilgrami and Willmott, *Historical and Descriptive Sketch of His Highness the Nizam's* Dominions* II, 721.

21. Amir * Hasan* Dihlawi* records the presence of Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* in Delhi in sessions occurring in 708/1308-9 and 716/1316 (*Fawa'id* al-fu'ad*, pp. 24, 55, 73, 143), and Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* also seems to have been present at the death of Nizam* al-Din* in 725/1325, if we can rely on the accounts of his obtaining *khilafat** during the last year of the shaykh's life.

22. Eaton, p. 25.

23. A. Krishnaswami, *The Tamil Country under Vijayanagar* (Annamalainagar: Annamalai University, 1964), p. 22ff.

24. Mahdi Husain, *Tughluq Dynasty,* p. 110. A list of these Sanskrit and Rajasthani sources is given in Habib and Nizami, pp. 1183-85.

25. The presence of names or epithets such as Tigh-i* Barahna (Persian for "naked sword") should not be mistaken for evidence of concrete military activities (Eaton, p. 33). This is simply a rough Persian translation of his Muslim name Husam* al-Din* (Arabic for "sword of the faith"), and the name has given rise to the legend of his always carrying a naked sword, an example of the "onomastic" process familiar to folklorists; cf. *Tazkira-i awliya'-i* Dakan,* I, 394, where the sword emerges from his tomb like excalibur to confirm the authority of Gisu* Daraz* over the Deccan. K'handa'it* may be the Hindi translation of the same name. A number of Sufis also carried the alarming epithet Qattal* ("killer"), but in the biographical literature this name only applies to those who performed extensive asceticism and meditation, and have "killed" the carnal soul; cf. the eccentric `Ayn al-Din* Qattal*, in *Mir'at* al-asrar** (Urdu trans.), II, 455, and the recluse Sadr* al-Din* Raju* Qattal*, in *Akhbar* al-akhyar**, p. 145.

26. Muhammad* Ikram* accepts these accounts from Mulkapuri's* *Tazkira-i awliya'-i*Dakan* as factual (*Ab-i* Kawsar,* p. 362).

27. Kerrin Graefin V. Schwerin, "Saint Worship in Indian Islam," pp. 153-54, 157-58.

28. In 1981 I observed villagers performing rituals at the impressive twelfth-century tomb of "Sultan Ghari*," one of the Turkish Ghurid princes buried near Palam west of New Delhi. The participants, when questioned about the identity of the "saint" (*buzurg*) buried there, variously maintained that it was someone who had died quite recently or else hundreds of years ago.

29. W. E. Begley, *Monumental Islamic Calligraphy from India* (Villa Park, Ill.: Islamic Foundation, 1985), p. 25.

30. N. M. Ganam, "Epitaph of Six Martyrs from Bari Khatu in Rajasthan," *Epigraphia Indica, Arabic and Persian Supplement* (1973), pp. 10-14.

31. *Census of India 1961,* vol. X, *Maharashtra,* pt. VII-B, *Fairs and Festivals in Maharashtra* (Delhi: Manager of Publications, Government Central Press, 1969), pp. 207-9.

32. Upendra Nath Day, *Medieval Malwa, A Political and Cultural History, 1401-1562* (Delhi: Munshi Ram Manohar Lal, 1965), p. 436; J. Burton-Page, "Dhar*. 2.—Monuments," *Encyclopedia of Islam,* II, 219.

33. Irène Beldiceanu-Steinherr, "La Vita de Seyyid 'Alî Sultan et la conquête de la Thrace par les Turcs," in *Proceedings of the Twenty-Seventh International Congress of Orientalists,* Ann Arbor, Michigan, 13-19 August 1967 (Wiesbaden, 1971), pp. 275-76.

34. Rudi Paul Lindner, *Nomads and Ottomans in Medieval Anatolia, Indiana* University Uralic and Altaic Series, vol. 144 (Bloomington: Research Institute for Inner Asian Studies, Indiana University, 1983), pp. 1-9, 34-36. I owe this reference to Richard Eaton.

35. Hamid * Qalandar, *Khayr al-majalis**, pp. 241-42.

36. *Antiquarian Remains in Hyderabad State* (Hyderabad: Archeological Department, 1953), p. 9, no. 11.

37. These were Shams al-Din* 'Adil* Shah* (r. *757-61/1356-59*) and 'Ala'* al-Din* Sikandar Shah* (r. 774-79/1372-78); cf. S. A. Q. Husaini, "The Sultanate of Ma`bar," in Sherwani and Joshi, I, 68-69.

38. P. M. Joshi, "Economic and Social Conditions under the Bahmanis*," in Sherwani and Joshi, I, 166, 170.

39. Ibid., in Sherwani and Joshi, I, 209 (cf. II, 590).

40. To notice but one example, the traveler Ioannes Oranus observed that some Hindus held Akbar to be the tenth incarnation of Vishnu; cf. J. Talboys, ed., *Early Travels in India (16th & 17th Centuries*) [Calcutta, 1864; reprint ed., Delhi: Deep Publications, 1974], p. 78. Although Abu* al-Fazl* does not mention this particular gambit, it has the signs of a carefully planted political use of religious symbols. For Akbar, see now Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, *Akbar & Religion* (Delhi: Idarah-i-Adabiyat-i-Delli, 1989).

41. Eaton, p. 38; cf. E. Sachau, trans., *Alberuni's India* (Delhi: S. Chand & Co., 1964 [1888]) I, 17-26.

42. K. A. Nizami, "Foundation of the Delhi Sultanate," in Habib and Nizami, p. 183, quoting Juwayni's* *Tarikh-i* jahan-gusha** (Tehran, 1311), II, 37. Juwayni* says Shihab* al-Din* Ghuri* was raising an army "under pretext of *ghazwa"* (or holy war) against the Qara Khitai.

43. Peter Jackson, "Delhi: A Vast Military Encampment," in *Delhi Through the Ages,* pp. 21-22, citing Juzjani's* *Tabaqat-i* Nasiri** (II, 57) on Balban.

44. P. M. Joshi and Mahdi Husain, "Khaljis and Tughluqs in the Deccan," in Sherwani and Joshi, I, 35. The authors suggest that the inscription, and similar claims in later inscriptions, refers to military action against Muslim officials on the coast between Goa and Chaul, but there were no Turkish authorities there at the time. Barani* (*Tarikh-i* Firuz-Shahi**, pp. 222-23, Urdu trans, p. 339) says that the people of Deogir had "never heard of Islam," explaining that "no emperor, khan, or king had reached those regions."

45. Barani, pp. 220-21.

46. P. M. Joshi and Mahdi Husain, "Khaljis and Tughluqs in the Deccan," I, 35, 40.

47. Ibid., I, 41.

48. Mohammad Habib, *Hazrat Amir Khusrau of Delhi* (Lahore: Islamic Book Service, 1979 [reprint of 1927 ed.]), pp. 53-66.

49. Amir * Khusraw, *Khaza'in* al-Futuh**, trans. Mohammad Habib, p. 90, cited in K. A. Nizami, "Foundation of the Delhi Sultanate," in Habib and Nizami, p. 189.

50. Banarsi Prasad Saksena, "Ghiyasuddin Tughluq," in Habib and Nizami, pp. 469-73.

51. P. B. Desai, "The Foundation of Vijayanagar," in Sherwani and Joshi, I, 138-39.

52. P. L. Gupta, "Coinage," in Sherwani and Joshi, II, 430.

53. Mahdi Husain, *Tughluq Dynasty,* p. 173.

54. K. A. Nizami, "Muhammad Bin Tughluq," in Habib and Nizami, p. 510, citing Yahya* Sirhindi*, *Tarikh-i* Mubarak* Shahi**, p. 102.

55. K. A. Nizami, "Muhammad Bin Tughluq," in Habib and Nizami, p. 511, quoting Shihab* al-Din* `Umari's* *Masalik* al-Absar**, trans. Otto Spies, pp. 18-19.

56. Ibn Battuta*, p. 204.

57. K. A. Nizami, "Muhammad Bin Tughluq," in Habib and Nizami, p. 507.

58. Ibid., in Habib and Nizami, p. 513.

59. *Tughluq Dynasty*, p. 158, estimating that each caravan conveyed two hundred people, for a total of twelve hundred Husain constructed this figure to agree with a sign on the Daulatabad road that read, "Here came twelve hundred saints," evidently a mistake on his part for the traditional figure of fourteen hundred, still preserved in the name of the Mosque of Fourteen Hundred Saints (Masjid Chahardih* Awliya*') in Khuldabad.

60. K. A. Nizami, "Muhammad Bin Tughluq," in Habib and Nizami, p. 514. For the text of 'Isami's* remarks, see Mahdi Husain, trans., *Futuhu's* Salatin** or *Shah* Namah-i* Hind of `Isami** (New York: Asia Publishing House, 1977), III, 675-89, lines 8460-64.

61. *Tughluq Dynasty,* p. 173.

62. Ibid., p. 146.

63. Jackson, p. 25, citing *Tughluq Dynasty,* pp. 166-68.

64. *Tughluq Dynasty,* p. 163. Mahdi Husain maintained that the poet Badr-i Chach* also testified to the vitality of Delhi in 727, by writing the city's chronogram in the phrase *fa-dkhuluha**, "enter it" (ibid., p. 166), but this appears to be a mistake. In

the Qasa'id * of Badr-i Chach* (Kanpur: Nawal Kishore, 1884), p. 90, the phrase is *wadkhulu* fiha**, which yields 744, referring to the construction of Khurramabad fort by Zahir* al-Juyush*. The latter noble participated in Sultan Muhammad* ibn Tughluq's struggle against Taghi's* rebellion in Gujarat and Hasan* Bahmani's* revolt in 748/1347; *Barani**, *Tarikh-i* Firuz* Shahi**, pp. 516, 520, Urdu trans., pp. 729, 735.

65. *Tughluq Dynasty*, p. 173, citing *Masalik* al-Absar**.

66. Jackson, pp. 23-27.

67. Barani*, p. 473 (*khawass-i* khalq; mardum-i guzida* wa chida**), cited in Jackson, p. 25, n. 78; cf. *Tughluq Dynasty,* pp. 146ff.

68. *Tughluq Dynasty,* p. 144; Mohammad Habib, in Habib and Nizami, p. 509.

69. K. A. Nizami, "Muhammad* Bin Tughluq," in Habib and Nizami, p. 512.

70. *Nafa'is* al-anfas**, p. 125.

71. Mir* Khwurd, pp. 207-8.

72. Mir* Khwurd, p. 296. It was only after `Ayn al-Mulk's expedition that these cities came under the Delhi administration; cf. Banarsi Prasad Saksena, "Alauddin Khalji," in Habib and Nizami, p. 395.

73. Mir* Khwurd, p. 328; *Akhbar* al-akhyar**, p. 110. `Abd al-Hayy* (II, 53-54) points out that Shams al-Din's* grave is in D'haraseon* in the Deccan, so presumably his surname "D'hari*" signifies that place rather than Dhar in Malwa. Mir* Khwurd and `Abd al-Haqq* say his land assignment was in Zafarabad, which in the Tughluq empire was a town near Jawnpur in Awadh, but it is possible that the Deccan town also received this name ("flourishing dominion") during the Tughluq campaigns there.

74. *Tughluq Dynasty*, p. 150; Mir* Khwurd, p. 238.

75. Mir* Khwurd, p. 230.

76. Ibid., p. 319; cf. p. 137, where he interprets a verse for Nizam* al-Din* Awliya*.

77. Ibid., pp. 262-83.

78. Ibid., pp. 283-85.

79. Sultan Muhammad* ibn Tughluq had coins struck with this epithet (*`adil**), and also named the fort of `Adilabad in Delhi in the same way; Mahdi Husain, *Tughluq Dynasty,* p. 56.

80. Ibn Battuta*, in `Abd al-Hayy*, II, 54-56, where he is called Shihab* al-Din* ibn Shaykh al-Jam* al-Khurasani*, and was executed by beheading after torture; `Abd al-Hayy* believes this took place in 741/1340-1. `Abd al-Hayy* lists separately Shihab* al-Din* ibn Fakhr al-Din* al-Mirat'hi* "Haqq* Gu*" (II, 58), following the version in *Gulzar-i* abrar** in which the shaykh beat the sultan with his shoes for declaring that the prophethood of Muhammad* was not final; his punishment was to be thrown off the

palace roof three times until he was killed. The story in *Gulzar-i * abrar** has a legendary appearance, in that the shaykh's death is explained as the punishment for his disobedience to his father years before (Muhammad* Ghawsi* Mandawi*, *Azkar-i* abrar**, *Urdu* tarjurna-i gulzar-i* abrar**, trans. Fazl* Ahmad* Jewari* [Agra: Matba`-i* Mufid-i* `Amm*, 1326/1908; reprinted., Lahore: Islamic Book Foundation, 1395/1975], pp. 46-47). A briefer version of this story is found in 'Abd al-Haqq*, who only describes the shaykh as refuting the sultan and calling him a tyrant, and then being thrown off the fort (*Akhbar* al-akhyar**, p. 131). All these stories have the appearance of being variants of the same tale.

81. Barani*, p. 481.

82. Mahdi Husain, in *Futuhu's* Salatin**, Appendix A, pp. 923-27; Iqtidar Husain Siddiqui, "Farhang Literature of the 14th Century as a Source of Information for the Socio-political History of the Delhi Sultanate," in *Papers on Medieval Indian History* (Hyderabad: Indian History Congress, 1978), typescript.

83. Karim* Khan* Nagawri*, *Majmu`-i* Khani**, MSS 1782 and 2376 Persian, Bodleian Library, Oxford; MSS 2572, 2573, and 2574 (*Tatimma-i Majmu`-i* Khani**) Persian (Ethé), India Office Library. Mahdi Husain (*Tughluq Dynasty,* p. 575) identifies this Bahram* Khan* with Qutlugh Khan*, the governor of Daulatabad and admirer of Burhan* al-Din* Gharib*.

84. These include Kamal* al-Din* Samanawi* (`Abd al-Hayy*, II, 113).

85. Mir* Khwurd, p. 228. `Abd al-Hayy* (II, 33), citing Mir* Khwurd, says Sayyid Husayn* returned to Delhi and died there, though this return is not mentioned in the printed text of *Siyar al-awliya**.

86. Barani*, p. 474.

87. Ibid., p. 481; Urdu trans., p. 686 (three caravans); cf. K. A. Nizami, "Muhammad* Bin Tughluq," in Habib and Nizami, pp. 490, 527.

88. Mir* Khwurd, p. 321.

89. Ibid., pp. 300-301.

90. *Ghara'ib* al-karamat**, p. 51. Azad* (*Rawzat* al-awliya'**, p. 28) interprets this as part of the general migration back to Delhi.

91. *Nafa'is* al-anfas**, no. 3, p. 18.

92. Ibid., no. 4, p. 22.

93. Ibid., no. 38, p. 121.

94. *Ghara'ib* al-karamat**, pp. 6-7.

95. *Nafa'is* al-anfas**, no. 31, p. 109.

96. Ibid., no. 7, p. 38.

97. *Hidayat* al-qulub**, p. 146.

98. *Nafa'is * al-anfas**, no. 10, p. 49.

99. Ibid., no. 17, p. 80.

100. Ibid., no. 12, p. 56.

101. *Ahsan** *al-aqwal**, chapter 3, p. 42.

102. *Ghara'ib** *al-karamat**, p. 51.

103. *Nafa'is** *al-anfas**, no. 10, p. 50. Although the word "essential" does not appear in the manuscript, in the passage where Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* describes which kind of hat he was given, another version preserved by Muhammad* `Abd al-Majid* emphasizes that Nizam* al-Din* gave Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* the "essential" hat; cf. Azad*, *Rawzat** *al-awliya'**, p. 14, n. 1.

104. *Ahsan** *al-aqwal**, chapter 7, p. 55; *Ghara'ib** *al-karamat**, p. 27, also mentions this staff, which is called the staff of Farid* al-Din* Ganj-i Shakkar.

105. *Nafa'is** *al-anfas**, no. 23, p. 93.

106. Azad* Bilgrami*, *Rawzat** *al-awliya'**, p. 12, quoting the lost *malfuzat** of Zayn al-Din* Shirazi*, *Hubbat** *al-mahabba**.

107. *Nafa'is** *al-anfas**, no. 36, p. 119. The term *majmu`** in this context has also been interpreted to mean "character, bounty, and divine knowledge" (Azad*, p. 11, n. 1).

108. *Ghara'ib** *al-karamat**, p. 11.

109. Ibid., p. 52.

110. *Nafa'is** *al-anfas**, no. 1, p. 9.

111. Mir* Khwurd, *Siyar al-awliya'**, pp. 288-89.

112. E.g., *Akhbar** *al-akhyar**, pp. 93-94.

113. *Mir* Khwurd, Siyar al-awliya'**, pp. 289-91.

114. Ibid., pp. 291-92.

115. Muhammad Habib did not even include Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* among the ten successors of Nizam* al-Din* Awliya', but only listed nine out of Mir* Khwurd's list of ten; cf. Muhammad Habib, *Hazrat** *Nizam* al-Din* Awliya'** (Lahore: Progressive Books, 1974), pp. 134-35.

116. Shah Muhammad* `Ali* Samani*, *Siyar-i* Muhammadi*, ed. and Urdu trans. Nazir* Ahmad* Qadiri* Sikandarpuri*, Silsila-i Matbu`at-i* Sayyid Muhammad* Gisu* Daraz* Academy, Gulbarga, no. 3 (Gulbarga: Sayyid Muhammad* Gisu* Daraz* Academy, 1399/1979), pp. 9, 13.

117. *Jawami`** *al-kalim,* pp. 239-40. Gisu* Daraz's* biographer mentions his visit in 801/1399 to the grave of his father, Sayyid Shah* Yusuf* al-Husayni* Raju* Qattal*,

which is in Khuldabad, but he does not record any visit to the tomb of Burhan * al-Din* Gharib* at that time.

118. Mir* Khwurd, *Siyar al-awliya'*, pp. 230-33.

119. The ten successors were Shams al-Din* Yahya*, Nasir* al-Din* Mahmud* Chiragh-i* Dihli*,Qutb* al-Din* Munawwar, Husam* al-Din* Multani*, Fakhr al-Din* Zarradi*, 'Ala*' al-Din* Nili*, Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* Wajih* al-Din* Yusuf*, Siraj* al-Din* `Usman*, and Shihab* al-Din* Imam*; cf. Mir* Khwurd, *Siyar al-awliya'*, chapter 4, pp. 233-302.

120. Simon Digby, *"Tabarrukat* and Succession among the Great Chishti* Shaykhs,"* in *Delhi Through the Ages: Essays in Urban History, Culture and Society,* ed. R. E. Frykenberg (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1986), pp. 63-103, esp. pp. 78-79.

121. Azad*, *Rawzat* al-awliya'*, p. 12.

122. Ibid., pp. 14-15.

123. Muhammad* `Abd al-Majid*, in *Rawzat* al-awliya'*, pp. 13-14, n., quoting *Ahsan* al-aqwal*, chapter 16, pp. 82-83.

124. Muhammad* `Abd al-Majid*, ibid.; Digby, *"Tabarrukat*,"* p. 79.

125. Jamali*, *Siyar al-arifin'*, Urdu trans., p. 94 (Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* as first *khalifa*; *Fath* al-awliya'*, MS in collection of Fariduddin Saleem, Khuldabad, p. 23 (Chishti* cloak); Sabzawari*, *Sawanih*, fol. 4b (turban, cloak, and prayer carpet; this author avoids referring to Mir* Khwurd's critical stories altogether). Dara* Shikuh* regarded the four chief disciples of Nizam* al-Din* as being Amir* Khusraw, Chiragh-i* Dihli*, Burhan* al-Din* Gharib*, and Amir* Hasan* Dihlawi*; cf. *Safinat* al-awliya'*, ed. Mr. Beale (Agra: Madrasa-i Agrah*, 1853), p. 167.

126. *Ghara'ib* al-karamat*, pp. 37-38.

127. Ibid., p. 16, where the man is described as a member of the invisible hierarchy, one of the *awtad* and *abdal*. Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* later reproved the same Mahmud* of Lajwara for excessive asceticism and bad behavior, *Nafa'is* al-anfas*, no. 30, p. 106.

128. Burhan* al-Din* Gharib*, in *Shama'il* al-atqiya'*, p. 29.

129. Burhan* al-Din* Gharib*, in *Nafa'is* al-anfas*, p. 59.

130. *Ahsan* al-aqwal*, p. 41.

131. Ibid., p. 42. Cf. *also Nafa'is* al-anfas*, p. 128, where Baha'* al-Din* Zakariyya* once sat with his rear to Mecca and his face to his master Shihab* al-Din* Suhrawardi*, upon which the latter remarked that a disciple's prayer-direction (*qibla*) is his master. This kind of story is frequently met with in hagiographical literature, as a metaphor for complete devotion to the master.

132. *Nafa'is* al-anfas*, pp. 65-66 (unfortunately the microfilm copy of the MS is defective here and does not reveal the outcome of this conversation).

133. Ibid., p. 106.

134. *Ahsan * al-aqwal**, p. 45.

135. His references to legal texts are comparatively rare; cf. *Nafa'is** *al-anfas**, 109 (the *Hidaya** of Marghinani*), 22 (the *Manzuma**).

136. Ghulam* `Ali* Azad* Bilgrami*, *Subhat** *al-marjan**, p. 76.

137. Some examples of the writings of Chiragh-i* Dihli's* disciples are the following: Muhammad* Mujir* ibn Wajih* al-Din*, *Miftah** *al-jinan**, MS 2565 Persian, India Office Library (cf. also Rieu, I, 40-41; Munzawi*, IV, 2459, no. 4298), on religious duties; Sadr* al-Din* Hakim*, *Saha'if** *dar 'ilm al-akhlaq**, MS 2175 Persian, India Office Library, on ethics; anon., *Fawa'id-i* Mahmud** *Khani** MS 55 Fiqh Farsi*, Salar Jung Library, Hyderabad, on Islamic law (also entitled *Manafi`* *al-qulub**, MS 66 Fiqh Farsi*, Salar Jung Library); Rukn al-Din*, *Turfat** *al-fuqatha'**, MS 50 Fiqh Farsi*, Salar Jung Library, Hyderabad, a large rhymed treatise in 15,486 couplets composed in 775/1374 on Hanafi* law.

138. *Khayr al-majalis,* p. 12.

139. Mir* Khwurd, *Siyar al-awliya'**, p. 148.

140. *Nafa'is** *al-anfas**, p. 52.

141. Legal and theological works mentioned by Chiragh-i* Dihli* include Pazdawi*, *Usul** *al-Shashi**, *Shir`at al-islam**, Qudduri*, the *Kashshaf** of Zamakhshari*, the *Mashariq** *al-anwar**, the *Hidayat**, etc.; cf. *Khayr al-majalis**, index, p. 304, for references.

142. *Nafa'is** *al-anfas**, p. 121.

143. Ibid., p. 116.

144. *Ahsan** *al-aqwal**, p. 80.

145. See Appendix C.

146. *Nafa'is** *al-anfas**, p. 129.

147. E.g., the story of the bride with smallpox and her husband's pretense of blindness for twenty years (*Nafa'is** *al-anfas**, p. 11) can be found in al-Ghazali's* *Ihya'** *ulum** *al-din**, III.3.7 (Cairo: Dar* al-Shu`ab, n.d.), pp. 1525-26.

148. Azad*, *Rawzat** *al-awliya'**, p. 96.

149. *Nafa'is** *al-anfas**, p. 60, on Qur. 12.33 and the term *israf**.

150. Ibid., pp. 24-32.

151. Ibid., p. 114.

152. Ibid., pp. 118-119.

153. Ibid., p. 50. Nizami* is also quoted in *Ghara'ib** *al-karamat**, p. 66.

154. *Nafa'is * al-anfas**, p. 55.

155. Ibid., p. 58. A verse of Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* is quoted in *Shama'il* al-atqiya'**, p. 191, along with a similar verse by Nasir* al-Din* Mahmud* Chiragh-i* Dihli*.

156. *Nafa'is* al-anfas**, p. 127.

157. Ibid., pp. 90-91 (Rukn al-Din's* poem celebrating Burhan* al-Din* Gharib's* recovery from illness), 132 (Rukn al-Din's* poem on the `Id* festival); *Ghara'ib* alkaramat**, pp. 79-83 (Majd al-Din's* elegy on Burhan* al-Din* Gharib*).

158. Amir* Hasan* Dihlawi*, in Siddiqi*, *Amir* Hasan* Sijzi**, pp. 409-10. This poem also contains praises of several of Burhan* al-Din* Gharib's* disciples, including Muhammad* Lashkar and Rukn al-Din* Kashani*.

159. Rukn al-Din* Kashani*, *Shama'il* al-atqiya'**, pp. 45-46.

160. Elsewhere (*Nafa'is* al-anfas**, p. 81), Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* observed that in former times the novices also used to carry wood, cook, and wash clothes as part of their beginning service, but that these customs were no longer observed in India.

161. *Ahsan* al-aqwal**, chapter 5, pp. 46-47.

162. *Shama'il* al-atqiya'**, pp. 48-49.

163. *Nafa'is* al-anfas**, p. 11.

164. Ibid., pp. 43-45.

165. An English version of the story of Shaykh San`an* can be found in Farid ud-Din Attar, *The Conference of the Birds,* trans. Afkham Darbandi and Dick Davis (Hammondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1984), pp. 57-75. The sources for the story are discussed by Muhammad* Javad* Mashkur*, ed., in his introduction to Farid* al-Din* `Attar* Nishapuri*, *Mantiq* al-tayr** (3rd ed., Tehran: Nasir-i* Khusraw, 1968), pp. xxiii-xxx. Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* may have recalled the name of Ahmad* Nahavandi* as a mistake for Shaykh San`an*, since Ahmad* Nahavandi* is known for an incident in which a disguised Christian became his disciple and then converted to Islam; cf. Jami*, *Nafahat* al-uns,* pp. 147-48. The confusion between Nahavandi* and San`an* becomes obvious when the same story is cited again in *Shama'il* al-atqiya'**, p. 55, and Farid* al-Din* `Attar* is mentioned there as a supporter of Nahavandi* against the criticism of religious scholars.

166. *Nafa'is* al-anfas**, pp. 95-96.

167. Ibid., p. 87.

168. Ibid., pp. 111-13.

169. Ibid., p. 85.

170. Ibid., pp. 16-17.

171. Ibid., p. 57, reading (in the prayer) *as'ala* instead of *yas'ala.*

172. Ibid., p. 83.

173. Ibid., p. 29.

174. *Ahsan * al-aqwal**, pp. 77-78.

175. *Shama'il** *al-atqiya'**, chapters 15-22, pp. 72-94.

176. Ibid., p. 75.

177. Ibid., pp. 87-88, 91.

178. Ibid., p. 94.

179. For a discussion of Chishti* pilgrimage practices as understood in the twelfth/eighteenth century, see my "An Indo-Persian Guide to Sufi Shrine Pilgrimage."

180. *Ahsan al-aqwal*,* p. 16.

181. Ibid., p. 67.

182. Ibid., pp. 76-77.

183. Ibid., pp. 144-45.

184. Mohammad Salim, "Jama`at-Khana of Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya of Delhi," *Proceedings of the Pakistan Historical Conference* III (1953), pp. 183-89; K. A. Nizami, "Some Aspects of *Khanqah** Life in Medieval India," *Studia Islamica* 8 (1957), pp. 51-70; S. Babs Mala, "The Sufi Convent and its Social Significance in the Medieval Period of Islam," *Islamic Culture* LI/1 (1977), pp. 31-52.

185. Azad*, *Rawzat** *al-awliya'**, p. 39.

186. *Nafa'is** *al-anfas**, p. 75.

187. *Ahsan** *al-aqwal**, p. 10.

188. *Nafa'is** *al-anfas**, pp. 80, 96.

189. *Shama'il** *al-atqiya'**, p. 53.

190. Ibid., p. 52.

191. Azad*, *Rawzat** *al-awliya'**, pp. 60-65, quoting from *Baqiyat** *al-karamat**, distinguishes between this Farid* al-Din* Adib*, nicknamed "Tuhfa-i* Ilahi*" (the divine gift), and another Farid* al-Din* Adib* called Khattat* or calligrapher, both of whom are buried in a group of four tombs to the west of the tomb of Muntajib al-Din* Zar Zari* Zar-bakhsh. The latter is supposed to have acted as prayer leader for the former. These may have been one and the same person, since Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* praised the calligraphy of Farid* al-Din* Adib*, his *khalifa**, as being superior to that of his teacher (*Ghara'ib** *al-karamat**, p. 56). See also Rawnaq `Ali, pp. 62-65, and Wahida* Nasim*, pp. 73-76.

192. *Ghara'ib** *al-karamat**, p. 57.

193. *Ahsan** *al-aqwal**, p. 41.

194. Ibid., p. 142.

195. Ibid., p. 146, with slightly different wording in *Gharda'ib * al-karamat**, p. 56.

196. *Ghara'ib* al-karamat**, p. 59.

197. *Shama'il* al-atqiya'**, pp. 34-35.

198. Azad*, *Rawzat* al-awliya'**, pp. 8, 86.

199. *Ahsan* al-aqwal**, pp. 48, 139.

200. *Ghara'ib* al-karamat**, p. 64.

201. *Ahsan* al-aqwal**, pp. 33, 42.

202. Ibid., p. 146.

203. *Ghara'ib* al-karamat**, pp. 65-70. According to Azad* (p. 138), Mubarak's* death anniversary is 5 Shawwal, which makes his death date 12 April 1340. Mubarak*, whose personal name was Fakhr al-Din*, is known now as Pir* Mubarak* Karwan* Chishti* (Azad*, p. 133; Rawnaq 'Ali*, pp. 280-81).

204. Azad*, *Rawzat* al-awliya'**, pp. 95-99. Rukn al-Din* Kashani*, however, states (*Shama'il* al-atqiya'**, 34-35) that Zayn al-Din* Shirazi* and Sayyid Nasir* al-Din* received their *khilafat-namas** and were named *khalifas** three days after the death of Burhan* al-Din* Gharib*.

205. *Hidayat* al-qulub**, pp. 52-53.

206. Ibid., p. 113 (this passage dates to sometime between 745/1344 and 747/1347). The *Hidaya** of al-Marghinani* (d. *593/1197*) is one of the most popular handbooks of Hanafi* law, and Pazdawi* (see Appendix A, no. 71) is the author of another legal text.

207. *Hidayat* al-qulub**, p. 153.

208. *Nafa'is* al-anfas**, pp. 57-58.

209. *Ahsan* al-aqwal**, p. 21.

210. *Hidayat* al-qulub**, p. 146; *Ahsan* al-aqwal**, p. 146.

211. In *Hidayat* al-qulub**, he quotes from Amir* Khusraw (p. 237), `Attar* (pp. 191, 202, 240, 264, 270, 271, 340), Awhad-i* Kirmani* (p. 63), Khaqani* (p. 302), Nizami* (pp. 226, 237), Sa`di* (pp. 26, 44, 106, 106, 156, 236, 265, 288, 299, 366), and Sana'i* (pp. 90, 98).

212. E.g., the Qur'an* commentary of Imam* Zahid* (Appendix A, no. 5), quoted in *Hidayat* al-qulub**, pp. 238-39, 317.

213. *Hidayat* al-qulub**, p. 159, and p. 255 for another reference to this work (cf. GAL I, 423; GALS I, 751/38, II, 566).

214. *Hidayat* al-qulub**, p. 224; cf. Appendix A, no. 34.

215. *Hidayat * al-qulub**, p. 30 (Qushayri*, cf. Appendix A, no. 92), 379 (Hujwiri's* *Kashf al-Mahjub**).

216. *Hidayat* al-qulub**, p. 332.

217. Ibid., p. 377; Appendix A, nos. 36, 97-101.

218. *Hidayat* al-qulub**, p. 277.

219. Ibid., p. 314.

220. Ibid., p. 230.

221. Ibid., p. 237.

222. Ibid., p. 293.

223. Ibid., pp. 259-60.

224. Ibid., p. 181.

225. Ibid., p. 158. Cf. `Isami*, trans. Mahdi Husain, lines 10039-191, pp. 784-94; Haroon Khan Sherwani, "The Bahmani Kingdom," in Habib and Nizami, pp. 965-69.

226. Azad*, *Rawzat* al-awliya'**, pp. 99-116. The three lost *malfuzat** are *Dalil* al-salikin** by `Azizi*, *Hubbat* al-qulub* min maqal* al-mahbub**, and *Hubbat* al-mahabba**. The last takes place after his return from Delhi, beginning Rajah 755/August 1354 and going to the end of his life.

227. Azad*, *Rawzat* al-awliya'**, pp. 121 (citing *Ishq-i rabbani**), 129-30. Zayn al-Din's* failure to appoint a successor is reflected in initiatic genealogies. One shows him surrounded by six disciples (Sayyid al-Sadat*, Amir* Hasan*, Mawlana* Ya`qub*, Shah* Kuchak*, Sayyid Shamna* Miran*, and Sayyid Zayn Yusuf*) but no *khalifa** (copy of *shajara* document in collection of Nuruddin Khuldabadi, Aurangabad). Another names five disciples: Shams al-Din*, Ya`qub* Qandhari*, Ya`qub*, Shah Kuchak*, and Qazi* Hamid* al-Din* ibn Qiwam* Babi* (*shajara* document of Khwaja* Ahmad* ibn Khwaja* Abdal*, in *dargah** of Zayn al-Din* Shirazi*).

228. The current leader of the Miraj center is Sayyid Husayn* ibn Sayyid `Abd al-Rahman*, known as Belgaum Wale Sahib, who commissioned a new edition of the Urdu translation of *Ahsan* al-aqwal** in 1987.

229. *Ahsan* al-aqwal**, p. 147; *Nafa'is* al-anfas**, no. 7, pp. 34-35. The term "offspring of the master" (*mawla-zada**) must refer to a descendant of Farid* al-Din*, since Nizam* al-Din* Awliya'* was celibate.

230. *Nafa'is* al-anfas**, no. 35, p. 118.

231. *Ahsan* al-aqwal**, p. 11.

232. Ibid., p. 143.

233. *Ghara'ib* al-karamat**, p. 47.

234. Azad *, *Rawzat* al-awliya'*, p. 8, n. 2, citing *Manafi`* al-muslimin* on law and *Risala-i* husul* al-wusul* and *Asrar* al-tariqa* on Sufism; the latter two are cited several times in *Shama'il* al-atqiya'*.

235. *Ahsan* al-aqwal*, p. 42.

236. *Ghara'ib* al-karamat*, p. 22; *Nafa'is* al-anfas*, p. 127.

237. *Nafa'is* al-anfas*, p. 119.

238. *Ahsan* al-aqwal*, p. 80.

239. Ibid., p. 144.

240. Azad*, *Rawzat* al-awliya'*, pp. 8, 13, 31-32, 86, citing *Baqiyat* al-karamat*.

241. *Ghara'ib* al-karamat*, p. 71.

242. *Ahsan* al-aqwal*, p. 147.

243. Ibid., p. 144.

244. *Nafa'is* al-anfas*, p. 118.

245. *Ghara'ib* al-karamat*, p. 76.

246. The poetry of Rukn al-Din* is also cited in *Ahsan* al-aqwal*, pp. 58, 80, 82.

247. *Ahsan* al-aqwal*, p. 147; *Shama'il* al-atqiya'*, p. 3.

248. *Ghara'ib* al-karamat*, pp. 73-74.

249. *Nafa'is* al-anfas*, pp. 15, 17, 47.

250. Ibid., pp. 77 (carpet, *taqiya**, toothbrush, and hat), 123 (cloak), 133 (hat).

251. *Ahsan* al-aqwal*, p. 18.

252. Ibid., p. 147.

253. *Nafa'is* al-anfas*, p. 10.

254. Ibid., pp. 92-95.

255. *Ahsan* al-aqwal*, p. 138, *Ghara'ib* al-karamat*, pp. 29-30, and *Nafa'is* al-anfas*, p. 52. Other accounts of Ahmad* Muhammad* Ma`shuq* do not shed light on his role in politics; Nizam* al-Din* only mentioned him as an intoxicated soul who was excused from prayer (*Fawa'id* al-fu'ad*, pp. 436-37,439; cf. Jami*, *Nafahat*, pp. 309-10, who describes an encounter between Muhammad* Ma`shuq* and Abu* Sa`id* ibn Abu* al-Khayr in Tus).

256. *Nafa'is* al-anfas*, pp. 107-8.

257. Azad*, *Rawzat* al-awliya'*, p. 27.

258. *Ahsan* al-aqwal*, p. 146.

259. *Nafa'is * al-anfas**, p. 92.

260. *`Abd al-Majid**, in Azad*, *Rawzat* al-awliya'**, pp. 34 (with text of the inscription), 42. The wooden model was still in existence when this book was published in 1933, according to `Abd al-Majid*, and it was treated as a sacred relic, but according to the shrine attendants it is now destroyed. That loss is unfortunate, since it would have shown how the tombs of Nizam* al-Din* and Burhan* al-Din* originally looked, prior to the centuries of repairs and alterations by later patrons.

261. *Ahsan* al-aqwal**, p. 35.

262. Ibid., p. 136.

263. *Ghara'ib* al-karamat**, p. 15.

264. *Nafa'is* al-anfas**, p. 92.

265. Azad*, *Rawzat* al-awliya'**, pp. 40-44.

266. Ibid., pp. 123-24, citing *Nafa'is* al-anfas** (p. 47).

267. *Ghara'ib* al-karamat**, p. 37.

268. *Nafa'is* al-anfas**, pp. 111-14, 130.

269. *Ghara'ib* al-karamat**, pp. 15, 75.

270. *Ahsan* al-aqwal**, p. 136.

271. *Ghara'ib* al-karamat**, pp. 23-25.

272. Ibid., p. 78. Although the revenue memorandum (Appendix B) speaks of the second administrator of the shrine as `Abd al-Rashid*, no such person is named in any of the *malfuzat** texts, so I assume that it is the same person as Rashid* al-Din*, especially because of the association of the latter with Muhammad* Lashkar (called "Lashkari*" in the memorandum) as founder of the shrine faction called *murids**. Since the revenue memorandum stipulates that the fourth and fifth administrators of the shrine were both sons-in-law of "'Abd al-Rashid*" (i.e., Rashid* al-Din*), then on the basis of this assumption, the control of the shrine would have rested primarily with *the murid** group at least until 801/1399.

273. *Ghara'ib* al-karamat**, p. 39.

274. Azad*, *Rawzat* al-awliya'**, p. 34.

275. *Ghara'ib* al-karamat**, pp. 43-44. Barani* lists a Malik Hajji* as one of the officials under Ghiyas* al-Din* Tughluq (Persian text, p. 424; Urdu trans., p. 607).

276. *Ahsan* al-aqwal**, p. 141.

277. *Ghara'ib* al-karamat**, p. 22.

278. *Nafa'is* al-anfas**, p. 110.

279. *Ahsan * al-aqwal**, p. 144.

280. Azad*, *Rawzat* al-awliya'**, pp. 99, 120.

281. Ibid., pp. 86, 89, names these five women as Bibi* 'A'isha*, Bibi* Amina*, Bibi* Khadija*, Bibi* Maryam, and Bibi* Sara*, and describes them as sisters of Zar Zari* Zar-bakhsh. Other sources only name the first four as sisters of Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* (*`Ishq-i rabbani**, p. 91; *shajara* in collection of Nuruddin Khuldabadi).

282. Azad*, *Rawzat* al-awliya'**, p. 127.

283. Cf. Annemarie Schimmel, *As Through a Veil: Mystical Poetry in Islam* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982), p. 155 with n. 79.

284. *Nafa'is* al-anfas**, p. 35.

285. *Ahsan* al-aqwal**, p. 140.

286. *Ghara'ib* al-karamat**, p. 42.

287. Ibid., p. 45.

288. *Ahsan* al-aqwal**, p. 140.

289. *Nafa'is* al-anfas**, pp. 14, 86.

290. Ibid., p. 74.

291. *Ghara'ib* al-karamat**, p. 70.

292. *Nafa'is* al-anfas**, p. 97.

293. *Ahsan* al-aqwal**, pp. 138-39, relating both stories; Azad*, pp. 44-45, adds the detail of Kaka's* punishment.

294. Azad*, *Rawzat* al-awliya'**, pp. 45-46.

295. Bruce B. Lawrence, "The Early Chishti* Approach to Sama`*," in *Islamic Society and Culture: Essays in Honour of Professor Aziz Ahmad,* ed. Milton Israel and N. K. Wagle (New Delhi: Manohar, 1983), p. 72.

296. *Tarjuma-i Qushayri**, cited in *Shama'il* al-atqiya**, p. 356.

297. Mir* Khwurd, *Siyar al-awliya'**, p. 289.

298. *Nafa'is* al-anfas**, p. 8.

299. Azad* Bilgrami*, *Rawzat* al-awliya'**, pp. 96 (Zayn al-Din*), 124 (Shams al-Din* Fazl* Allah*); Majd al-Din Kashani*, *Ghara'ib* al-karamat**, p. 56 (Farid* al-Din* Adib*).

300. Lawrence, p. 73; this article is an excellent summary of the development of *sama`** from the classical Sufis to the Chishtis*.

301. For details of the controversy, see Khusro Hussaini, *Sayyid Muhammad* al-Husayni* Gisu* Daraz*: On Sufism* (Delhi: Idarah-i Adabiyat-i Delli, 1985), pp. 121-25.

302. *Nafa'is* *, p. 49.

303. *Shama'il**, pp. 347-48. This distinction is reproduced by Gisu* Daraz*; Hussaini, p. 128.

304. *Shama'il**, pp. 356-57.

305. Mu`izz al-Din* Kashani*, trans., *Misbah* al-hidaya**, *tarjuma-i `awarif** (Lucknow: Nawal Kishore, n.d.), pp. 148-54; cf. also Lawrence, p. 82. Lt.-Col. Wilber-force Clarke translated some of the relevant passages from this text in *The `Awarifu 'l-Ma`arif*.

306. *Ahsan* al-aqwal**, ch. 28, p. 132.

307. *Shama'il**, p. 360.

308. Gisu* Daraz* argues that the company, by joining in with the ecstatic, creates solidarity with him and avoids distracting him by their different behavior (Hussaini, p. 134).

309. Ibid.

310. *Shama'il**, pp. 343-44, 354-55, 358, 359.

311. For the latter's views on *sama`**, see Sharaf al-Din* Maneri*, *The Hundred Letters,* trans. Paul Jackson, The Classics of Western Spirituality (New York: Paulist Press, 1980), pp. 382-93.

312. *Shama'il**, pp. 354-55.

313. Ibid., p. 370; the same story is told in *Nafa'is* al-anfas**, p. 47, but there the conclusion is that not all Qur'an* readers understand it.

314. *Shama'il**, p. 357.

315. Ibid., p. 356.

316. Ghazali*, quoted in *Shama'il**, p. 357.

317. *Shama'il**, pp. 357-58.

318. Ibid., p. 356.

319. Ibid., p. 358, with a fuller version in *Ahsan* al-aqwal**, p. 134.

320. Hussaini, p. 120.

321. *Risala-i* shamsiyya,* in *Shama'il**, p. 360, apparently quoting from Nizam* al-Din*; cf. Hussaini, p. 161, n. 131.

322. *Shama'il**, p. 360; this appears to be from Qushayri*, cf. Hussaini, p. 121.

323. From Qushayri* (Beirut ed., p. 154, cit. Lawrence, p. 79), without the last phrase about dance.

324. *Nafa'is**, pp. 83 (Badr al-Din* Samarqandi* healed by *sama`**), 68-70 (problem of *sama`** at funerals causing deceased dervishes to rise up before the Resurrection).

325. *Ghara'ib* *, p. 32. Zuhayr* was known for his participation in *sama`* in Delhi; cf. *Nafa'is**, p. 62.

326. *Ahsan** *al-aqwal**, p. 129.

327. Ibid., pp. 134-35; *Shama'il**, p. 359.

328. *Shama'il**, p. 360.

329. Ibid.

330. Ibid., p. 361.

331. Ibid.

332. The following examples are taken from *Ahsan** *al-aqwal**, ch. 26, pp. 128-35.

333. *Shama'il**, p. 360, also *Ahsan** *al-aqwal**, p. 135.

334. `Umar al-Suhrawardi*, cited (as "Shaykh al-Shuyukh") in *Shama'il**, p. 352.

335. P. Hardy, "Modern European and Muslim Explanations of Conversion to Islam in South Asia: A Preliminary Survey of the Literature," in *Conversion to Islam,* ed. Nehemia Levtzion (New York: Holmes & Meier Publishers, 1979), pp. 68-99.

336. Hardy, "Conversion," p. 70.

337. The terms are those used by Richard Eaton, "Approaches to the Study of Conversion to Islam in India," in *Approaches to Islam in Religious Studies,* ed. Richard C. Martin (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1985), pp. 106-23.

338. The prevalence of anti-Islamic bias characterizes the only attempt at a statistical study of the subject, K. S. Lal's *Growth of Muslim Population in Medieval India (A.D. 1000-1800)* (Delhi: Research, 1973). John Richards suggests, however ("The Islamic Frontier," p. 105), that despite the general bias of Lal's book, his theory of the enslavement of Indian captives as a source of converts may have merit. Nonetheless, the book remains highly speculative; the population figures for Indian Muslims in 1200 are calculated backward from the British censuses of India between 1881 and 1941. Lal's thesis of forced conversions likewise projects backward from nineteenth-century attitudes.

339. The original source of this theory was the *Tuhfat al-mujahidin** of Zayn al-Din*, written in Malabar around 987/1579-80, who referred to conversion to Islam as a means of abandoning low status in the caste system (Hardy, "Conversion," pp. 82-83).

340. Abdul Malik Mujahid, *Conversion to Islam: Untouchables' Strategy for Protest in India* (Chambersburg, Pa.: Anima Books, 1989).

341. Eaton, "Approaches to Conversion," pp. 118-19.

342. Richard M. Eaton, "The Political and Religious Authority of the Shrine of Baba Farid in Pakpattan, Punjab," in *Moral Conduct and Authority : the Place of Adab in South Asian Islam,* ed. Barbara Metcalf (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), pp. 333-56.

343. Bruce B. Lawrence, "Early Indo-Muslim Saints and Conversion," pp. 110ff.

344. Lawrence, "Conversion," pp. 111-14, quoting *Fawa'id * al-fu'ad** (Cawnpore: Nawal Kishore, 1885), pp. 182-83 (Lahore ed., pp. 305-9); Mohammad Habib, "Shaikh Nasiruddin Mahmud Chiragh-i-Dehli as a Great Historical Personality," in his *Politics and Society,* I, 368.

345. Aziz Ahmad, *Studies in Islamic Culture in the Indian Environment* (Oxford, 1964; reprint ed., Lahore: Oxford University Press, 1970), p. 84.

346. According to Mulla* Da'ud* Bidari* (d. 817/1414-15), it was the kings who wished to spread Islam and build mosques; cf. Mulkapuri*, *Tazkira-i salatin-i* Dakan,* p. 92, quoting his unique copy (now lost) of Bidari's* *Tuhfat* al-salatin**.

347. Simon Digby, "Encounters with Jogis in Indian Sufi Hagiography," unpublished paper delivered at the School of Oriental and African Studies, January 1970, pp. 12ff., as cited by Lawrence, "Early Indo-Muslim Saints," p. 117.

348. Muhammad* Riyaz*, *Mir* Sayyid `Ali* Hamadani**, pp. 38-43.

349. The legends about Farid* al-Din* Ganj-i Shakkar converting large numbers of Hindus to Islam derive from the Mughul-era *Jawahir-i* Faridi** and British gazetteers; cf. Nizami, *Life and Times,* p. 107, n. 3.

350. Lawrence, "Early Indo-Muslim Saints," p. 119.

351. Hardy, "Conversion," pp. 98-99.

352. Arnold, *The Preaching of Islam,* pp. 285-87.

353. "Amir* Hasan* and Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* and a great assembly of revered Sufis also went to Daulatabad. Lord Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* was counted as the master of the dominion of the Deccan. He was the most illustrious *khalifa** of Sultan* al-Mashayikh* (Nizam* al-Din*). To the end of his life he worked to fulfill Sultan* al-Mashayikh* Nizam* al-Din* Awliya's* mission (*mishan*) of propagating religion (*tabligh-i* din**)" (Siddiqi*, *Amir* Hasan* Sijzi* Dihlawi**, p. 163).

354. Al-Sarraj*, Luma`, p. 416.

355. Al-Suhrawardi*, *Adab* al-Muridin**, ed. Milson, no. 106, p. 52. This text is no. 128 in Rukn al-Din's* bibliography (Appendix A).

356. Shihab* al-Din* Suhrawardi*, *Misbah* al-hidayat**, Persian trans, of the *`Awarif* al-ma`arif** by 'Izz al-Din* Kashani* (Lucknow: Nawal Kishor*), pp. 204-7. A Persian translation of the *`Awarif* is no. 87 in Rukn al-Din's* bibliography (Appendix A).

357. Rukn al-Din* Kashani*, *Shama'il* al-atqiya'**, p. 27.

358. *Nafa'is* al-anfas**, pp. 15-16, 99, 110.

359. M. G. Panse, "Religion and Politics in the early Mediaeval Deccan (A.D. 1000-1350)," *Journal of Indian History 45* (1967), pp. 683-84, where the author also

accepts as fact the legend of Shah * Dola Rahman* Shah*, the Ghaznavid-era militant Sufi (above, Part II, chap. 6).

360. W. H. Bradley, "Statistics of the Circar of Dowlutabad," *Madras Journal of Literature and Science* 36 (1849), p. 531, citing figures of 154,767 total rural district population, of which 138,376 were Hindus and 16,391 Muslims. More recent census figures show relative growth by the Muslim population for the modern district as a whole (12.67% in 1901, 13.85% in 1961, and 17.74% in 1971). In 1971, outside of Aurangabad, the total population was 1,805,753, of which 1,571,885 were non-Muslims and 233,868 Muslims, making a rural Muslim population of 12.95%. See *Aurangabad District, Maharashtra State Gazetteers* (2nd ed., Bombay: Gazetteers Department, Government of Maharashtra, 1977), pp. 277-78.

361. Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* and Rukn al-Din* Kashani* discussed a certain yogi from Navsari and his fraudulent alchemical techniques, which only had intermittent success due to their reliance on drugs and spirits (*Nafa'is* al-anfas*, pp. 72-73). Zayn al-Din* Shirazi* mentioned a yogi of 70 years who could eat anything, and he mentioned remedies "used by skilled physicians and experienced yogis" (*Hidayat* al-qulub*, pp. 149, 346).

362. *Ghara'ib* al-karamat*, pp. 61-62, 75.

363. *Hidayat* al-qulub*, p. 95.

364. Ibid., p. 154.

365. Ibid., p. 111.

366. Ibid., p. 92.

367. Ibid., p. 111.

368. *Ghara'ib* al-karamat*, pp. 75-77.

369. see Ernst, *Words of Ecstasy in Sufism,* part II, esp. p. 75.

370. Rukn al-Din*, *Shama'il* al-atqiya'*, pp. 228-35.

371. *Nafa'is* al-anfas*, p. 45

372. *Ahsan* al-aqwal*, pp. 52-53.

373. Farid* al-Din* Ganj-i Shakkar in this way is supposed to have brought about the conversion of tribes such as the Sials in the Punjab; cf. Nizami, *Life and Times,* pp. 107-8.

374. Such is also the case in a story told of the famous early Sufi `Abd Allah* Ansari* of Herat. At his funeral, which was attended by Christians and Jews as well as Muslims, seventy men were unable to lift up his bier. When two Sufis appeared and easily lifted it up, all the Jews and Christians became Muslims due to the saint's blessings. This story is told in a chapter concerning the acceptance of the Sufi master's authority; cf. *Ahsan* al-aqwal*, p. 75.

375. *Ahsan* al-aqwal*, pp. 66-67; cf. also Nizami, *Life and Times,* pp. 106-7, and Lawrence, "Early Indo-Muslim Saints and Conversion," p. 115.

376. Nizami, *Life and Times,* p. 106, n. 5.

377. *Nafa'is * al-anfas**, pp. 6-8.

378. Dara* Shikuh*, *Safinat al-awliya'**, p. 172.

379. Sabzawari*, *Sawanih**, fol. 6b.

380. Ibid., fol. 8a.

381. Ibid., fol. 25a.

382. Ibid., fol. 23b.

383. For the use of the phrase "the sign of Islam" (*shi`ar-i* islam**) in an imperialistic context, see Ziya'* al-Din* Barani*, *Fatawa-i* Jahandari**, pp. 12, 14, 141, 217.

384. Mir* Khwurd, *Siyar al-awliya'**, pp. 239-41, reproduced by Nizami, *Thirteenth Century,* pp. 351-52; trans. John Alden Williams, *Themes of Islamic Civilization* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971), pp. 355-57.

385. Mir* Khwurd, *Siyar al-awliya'**, pp. 127-29, reproduced in Nizami, *Thirteenth Century,* pp. 349-50. The *Tamhidat** of al-Salimi* (fifth/eleventh cent.) is no. 55 in the bibliography of Rukn al-Din* Kashani* (Appendix A).

386. *Ahsan* al-aqwal**, pp. 15, 37.

387. Ibid., pp. 129, 134.

388. Ibid., pp. 141, 147.

389. Nizami, *Life and Times,* p. 106.

390. See Schimmel, *As Through a Veil,* pp. 135-70; Ali S. Asani, "Amir* Khusraw and Poetry in Indic Languages," *Islamic Culture* LXII/2 (1988), pp. 50-62.

391. The Hindawi* verses and sayings are found in *Nafa'is* al-anfas**, p. 113; *Ahsan* al-aqwal**, pp. 79, 95, 103 (inferior versions in the Urdu trans., pp. 67, 81, 118); *Hidayat* al-qulub**, pp. 22, 99, 187, 190, 191, 193, 196, 226, 238, 264, 269, 278, 288, 335; *Shama'il* al-atqiya'**, p. 146.

392. I would like to express my thanks to Professor Shackle for his kindness in undertaking a preliminary analysis of these poems. Shackle has explored the problem of early Sufi poetry (including the Farid* material) in "Early Muslim vernacular poetry in the Indus valley: its contexts and its character," paper presented at the conference on Regional Varieties of Islam in Premodern India (prior to 1750), University of Heidelberg, July 1989.

393. *Ahsan* al-aqwal**, p. 95.

394. Ibid., p. 143. On the basis of Shackle's translation, I conjecturally interpret this verse as follows: "How many black and yellow [cows] graze in the jungle, Will the water be sweet, when there is salt in the drink?" The implication is that just as cows do not graze in the jungle, one cannot find sweetness (i.e., spiritual knowledge) in a salty drink (a false master).

395. *Hidayat * al-qulub**, p. 187.

396. One verse *(Hidayat* al-qulub*, p. 193) follows on a Persian couplet from Nizami*, both in illustration of the Prophet Muhammad's* purpose of turning away from the world; another couplet *(Hidayat* al-qulub*, p. 226), on enduring the criticism of the world, occurs between a Persian verse of Nizami* and an Arabic verse.

397. *Hidayat* al-qulub**, p. 278.

398. *Nafa'is* al-anfas**, p. 113.

399. Max Arthur MacAuliffe, *The Sikh Religion: Its Gurus, Sacred Writings and Authors* (6 vols., Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1904; reprint ed., New Delhi: S. Chand & Co., 1978), VI, 357.

400. Nizami, *Life and Times,* p. 121. See also Attar Singh, "Sheikh Farid and the Punjabi Poetic Tradition," in Gurbachan Singh Talib, ed., *Perspectives on Sheikh Farid* (Patiala: Baba Farid Memorial Society, 1975), pp. 225-33.

401. *Hidayat* al-qulub**, p. 226, gives a verse nearly identical with s1oka* 7 of Farid* (trans. MacAuliffe, VI, 394; also trans. Talib, p. 240). The other Farid* verses are in ibid., pp. 187, 190, 191, 238 (Persian *ruba'i**), 264, 269, 278; another saying of his is given in *Shama'il* al-atqiya'**, p. 146.

Part Three

1. *Ahsan* al-aqwal**, pp. 82-83.

2. Ibid., p. 86.

3. Ibid., p. 98.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid., p. 25.

6. Ibid., p. 84

7. Ibid., p. 97.

8. *Hidayat* al-qulub**, pp. 3-4.

9. *Nafa'is* al-anfas**, p. 93.

10. *Hidayat* al-qulub**, p. 126.

11. Ibid., p. 31.

12. *Nafa'is* al-anfas**, p. 135.

13. Ibid., p. 15.

14. Ibid., pp. 43, 47.

15. *Ahsan * al-aqwal**, p. 138.

16. *Nafa'is** *al-anfas**, pp. 50, 95, 127.

17. *Ahsan** *al-aqwal**, p. 12.

18. *Ghara'ib** *al-karamat**, pp. 19-21.

19. Barani*, *Tarikh-i** *Firuz** *Shahi**, Urdu trans., p. 657. Barani* also (p. 711) mentions Malik Mukhlis* al-Mulk as the administrator of one of the four divisions of the Maratha province.

20. *Nafa'is** *al-anfas**, pp. 98-107.

21. *Ghara'ib** *al-karamat**, p. 21.

22. K. A. Nizami, "Muhammad bin Tughluq," in Habib and Nizami, p. 562; Haroon Khan Sherwani, "The Bahmani Kingdom," in ibid., p. 965. Mir* Hasan* (*Hidayat** *al-qulub**, p. 16), who was a government functionary, refers to the possibility that he may go to Delhi with Qutlugh Khan*, in a passage dated 9 Rajab 745/16 November 1344, only a few weeks before Qutlugh Khan's* departure on 28 Rajab 745/5 December 1344.

23. *Hidayat** *al-qulub**, pp. 75, 140.

24. Ibid., p. 301.

25. *Ghara'ib** *al-karamt**, pp. 33-34. For other anecdotes concerning Qutlugh Khan*, see Azad*, *Rawzat** *al-awliya'**, pp. 19-20, note.

26. Nizami, "Muhammad bin Tughluq," in Habib and Nizami, pp. 541-45.

27. *Hidayat** *al-qulub**, pp. 342-44.

28. Ibid., p. 167. This was the verse that Qutb* al-Din* Bakhtiyar* Kaki* was listening to when he died during *sama`**; see Lawrence, *Notes from a Distant Flute,* p. 22.

29. Barani*, *Tarikh**, p. 516; Urdu trans., p. 728.

30. *Hidayat** *al-qulub**, pp. 162-63.

31. Azad*, *Rawzat** *al-awliya'**, p. 98, although Azad* mistakenly states that the sultan successfully suppressed the revolt and returned to Delhi with Zayn al-Din* in his entourage. The sultan's route took him instead to Gujarat and Sind, where he died vainly endeavoring to suppress another rebellion.

32. *Hidayat** *al-qulub**, p. 186.

33. Ibid., pp. 141-142.

34. Ibid., pp. 25, 51.

35. Azad*, *Rawzat** *al-awliya'**, pp. 26-27, quoting Hammad* al-Din* Kashani* (apparently an error for Majd al-Din* Kashani*), *Baqiyat** *al-karamat**.

36. *Hidayat * al-qulub**, p. 183.

37. Barani*, *Tarikh**, p. 516; Urdu trans., p. 728.

38. *Hidayat* al-qulub**, p. 158. In a later passage (p. 315), Mir* Hasan's* brother Malik Nat'hu* complains desperately of the actions of the army of Delhi, but it is difficult to date this portion of the manuscript.

39. *Ghara'ib* al-karamat**, pp. 75-77.

40. `Isami*, trans. Mahdi Husain, pp. 790-1, lines 10142-151; p. 793, line 10176. Haroon Khan Sherwani, "The Bahmani Kingdom," in Habib and Nizami, p. 968, states that the sultan did not remain long in Daulatabad before starting off to suppress the revolt of Taghi* in Gujarat.

41. Firishta gives only a couple of references (Mahomed Kasim Ferishta, *History of the Rise of the Mahomedan Power in India, Till the Year A.D. 1612,* trans. J. Briggs [4 vols. Reprint ed., Lahore: Sang-e Meel Publications, 1977] II, 323-25,329) to the Bahmani* attachment to the shrine of Burhan* al-Din* Gharib*, and stresses more the Bahmani* patronage of Sufis such as Sayyid Muhammad* al-Husayni* "Gisu* Daraz*" (II, 388-89, 392, 397-98), Shaykh Siraj* al-Din* Junaydi* (II, 310, 319, 350, 398), and Shah* Ni`mat Allah* Wali* (II, 418-19).

42. Firishta, trans. Briggs, II, 277; cf. Nizami*, *Tarikh-i* mashayikh-i* Chisht,* p. 260, and Mulkapuri*, *Tazkira-i salatin-i* Dakan,* p. 70.

43. The historians Firishta and Tabataba* have noticed the custom for both religious scholars and Sufis to be present and assist at the coronations of the Bahmani* kings, though they do not mention the representatives of the Khuldabad shrines; cf. M. A. Muttalib, "Laws: The Deccan Sultanates and Muslim Law," in Sherwani and Joshi, II, 476, 478.

44. Firishta (trans. Briggs), II, 329.

45. A. A. Kadiri, "Inscriptions of the Bahmanis* of Deccan," *Epigraphia Indica, Arabic and Persian Supplement* (1964), pp. 38-41. During the reign of the same sultan, the governor Malik Parwiz* ibn Qaranfal constructed in 861/1457 another mosque next to the Zaynsar tank (named after Zayn al-Din* Shirazi*) in Kaghzipura (ibid., p. 37). The same Malik Parwiz* had also been responsible for the construction of the Chand Minar* and mosque in the Daulatabad fort in 849/1445; cf. M. F. Khan, "Some Important Inscriptions from Daulatabad," *Journal of the Epigraphical Society of India* 11 (1984), pp. 101-5.

46. U. N. Day, "Malwa," in Habib and Nizami, p. 922, citing the *Ma'asir-i* Mahmud* Shahi**.

47. Radhey Shyam, "The Nizam* Shahis*," in Sherwani and Joshi, I, 232, 274.

48. Firishta, trans. Briggs, III, 138.

49. There is some confusion about the identification of the numerous Nizam* Shah* tombs in Khuldabad, almost all of which lack any inscription. Azad* Bilgrami* in

the late eighteenth century only mentioned the tomb of Nizam * al-Mulk Burhan* Shah* Bahri*, d. 961/1553; cf. *Rawzat* al-awliya**, p. 89; cf. also p. 149, where the editor's note cites Firishta on the numerous Nizamshahi* princes' tombs near Daulatabad. Half a century ago Rawnaq `Ali* described the great dome near Sayyid Raju* Qattal's* tomb as containing two kings' tombs; cf. *Rawzat* al-aqtab**, p. 89, n. 1 (the disposal of Ahmad* Shah's* bones), p. 89, n. 2, identifying the great tomb as Ahmad* Nizam* Shah's* and the tomb on the west terrace outside as Burhan* Nizam* Shah's*. Curiously, tombs of Ahmad* Nizam* Shah* and Burhan* Nizam* Shah* also exist at Ahmednagar; cf. Radhey Shyam, "The Nizam* Shahis*," in Sherwani and Joshi, I, 242, n. 92, and Z. A. Desai, "Architecture—Bahmani* Succession States," in Sherwani and Joshi, II, 264, 267 (where the tomb commonly assigned to Burhan* Nizam* Shah* is simply called "the largest of the Khuldabad tombs"). Firishta records that Burhan* Nizam* Shah* was reburied in Kerbala (trans. Briggs, III, 144). Malik 'Anbar is, however, also said to be buried in the town (named after him) of Amrapur, thirty-two miles north-east of Ahmednagar; cf. Jogindra Nath Chowdhuri, *Malik Ambar, A Biography Based on Original Sources* (Calcutta: M. C. Sarkar & Sons Ltd., 193), pp. 129-31. He built but clearly did not occupy another tomb in Gulbarga in 1008/1599-1600; cf. *Antiquarian Remains in Hyderabad State,* p. 12, no. 6.

50. Rawnaq 'Ali*, p. 54.

51. Firishta, trans. Briggs, III, 159, 164.

52. B. D. Verma, "`Adil* Shahi* Epigraphy in the Deccan (Miraj and Kolhapur)," *Journal of the University of Bombay* 8 (1939), p. 14.

53. P. Hardy, "Farukids*," *Encyclopaedia of Islam,* new ed., II, 814-16 (1965).

54. Mohammad Shafi*, "Burhan* al-Din* Gharib*," *Encyclopaedia of Islam,* new ed., I, 1328-29 (1960).

55. `Azad* Bilgrami*, *Rawzat* al-awliya**', pp. 107-8. Mahdi Hussain remarks that the long endurance of the Faruqi* dynasty was "the fruit of the prayers and supplications of the sponsor saint Shaikh Zain-ud-din of Daulatabad ... the accepted gum and spiritual guide of all the members of the house" ("Arberry's Legacy of Persia and New Lights on Khandesh," Part I, *Indo-Iranica* 8 [1955], p. 19).

56. Hajji* Dabir* Ulughkhani*, *Zafar* al-walih* bi-Muzaffar* wa alih**, *An Arabic History of Gujarat,* ed. E. Denison Ross, Indian Texts Series (3 vols., London: John Murray, for the Government of India, 1910-28), I, 52; Mahdi* Husayn*, "A Short History of Khandesh," *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society* 51 (1960-61), 122. On Nizam* al-Din* Awliya'* and the Bahmanis*, see Sayyid `Ali* Tabataba*, *Burhan-i* ma'asir**, Silsila-i Makhtutat-i* Farsiyya*, 2 (Delhi: Matba`-i* Jami`a*, 1355/1936), p. 12. Other traditions link the prophecy of 'Ala' al-Din* Ahmad* Bahman* Shah's* kingship to the Sufi shaykh Siraj* al-Din* Junaydi*; cf. H. K. Sherwani, "The Bahmanis*," in Sherwani and Joshi, I, 149. The later Chishti* Sufi Gisu* Daraz* similarly is said to have predicted the coronation of the future Ahmad* Bahman Shah*; cf. Tabataba*, p. 48.

57. J. S. King, *trans., The History of the Bahmanî Dynasty, Founded on the Burhân-i Ma,âsir* (London: Luzac and Co., 1900), p. 12, cites 'Ala*' al-Din* Hasan*

Bahman Shah's * dreams of Uways Qarani*, a contemporary of the Prophet. Yusuf* `Adil* Shah* (d. 916/1510), the first sultan of Bijapur, is recorded as having dreams of Khizr* predicting his rise to empire; cf. P.M. Joshi and M. A. Nayeem, "Fuzuni Astarabadi's *Futuhat-i* `Adil Shahi*—An Unpublished Persian MS. in the British Museum—*Some Extracts,*" *Islamic Culture* LIII/3 (1979), pp. 169-70.

58. Firishta, II, 277; Azad* Bilgrami*, p. 108; Rawnaq `Ali*, p. 209; Mahdi* Husain unaccountably translates the phrase as "robe of desire and assent" ("Khandesh," p. 127), though it has a very specific twofold meaning, implying status both as an ordinary disciple (*murid**) and as a fully qualified successor or representative (*khalifa**).

59. `Isami*, *Futuh* al-salatin* ya'ni* shahnama-i* Hind,* ed. Agha* Mahdi* Husayn* (Agra: Educational Press, 1938), pp. 7-9; trans. Agha Mahdi Husain, *Futuh'us* Salatin* or Shahnamah-i* Hind of `Isami**, 3 vols. (New York: Asia Publishing House, 1967-77), I, 9-13. See also `Isami's* eulogies of Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* (text, pp. 439-41; trans., III, 691-92) and Zayn al-Din* (text, pp. 442-44; trans., III, 695-97).

60. Cf. Digby, *"Tabarrukat**." Modern Chishtis* of the Punjab, counting the angel Gabriel as the fast of the twenty-two links, hold that Nizam* al-Din* Awliya'* gave this shirt to Chiragh-i* Dihli* rather than Burhan* al-Din* Gharib*, and that it was buried with Chiragh-i* Dihli*; cf. Khwaja* Ghulam* Farid* (d. 1329/1911), *Maqabis* al-Majalis**, Urdu trans. Wahid* Bakhsh Siyal* (Lahore: Islamic Book Foundation, 1399/1979), pp. 354-55.

61. `Abd al-Jabbar* Mulkapuri*, *Tazkira-i Salatin-i* Dakan,* p. 70.

62. `Ayn al-Din* Bijapuri*, *Mulhaqat-i* Tabaqat-i* Nasiri**, quoted by `Abd al-Jabbar* Mulkapuri*, *Tazkira-i Salatin-i* Dakan,* p. 239 (`Ayn al-Din's* work is no longer available, since `Abd al-Jabbar's* unique copy was destroyed).

63. Azad* Bilgrami*, pp. 127-128. This robe is believed to be the one worn by the Prophet during his ascension (*mi'raj**), described by Nizam* al-Din* Awliya'* as having been handed down to his day; cf. *Shama'il* al-atqiya'**, pp. 56-57, quoting *Qiwam* al-`aqa'id**.

64. *Fath*. al-awliya'**, pp. 26-34.

65. Ibid., pp. 4-7.

66. The MS of *Fath* al-awliya'** in the unique Khuldabad copy is undated and breaks off abruptly in the middle of page 146; the handwriting is tolerably clear except pp. 21-28, which are in a vile shikasta. The table of contents on page 16 lists biographies of the following: (1) Burhan* al-Din* Gharib*, p. 18; (2) Zayn al-Din* Shirazi*, p. 26; (3) 'Ala*' al-Din* Ziya'*, p. 37; (4) Nizam* al-Din* Idris*, p. 46; (5) Shah* Nu`man* Asiri*, p. 50; (6) Baha'* al-Din* Shah* Bajan*, p. 65; (7) Nizam* al-Din* Shah* B'hakari*, p. 69; (8) Sharaf al-Din* Shah* Shahbaz*, p. 83; (9) Shah* Mansur* Majzub*, p. 94; (10) Ahmad* Haji*, p. 115; (11) Nizam* al-Din* ibn Shah* Nu`man*, p. 119; (12) `Abd al-Hakim* ibn Shah* Bajan*, p. 132; (13) Jalal* al-Din* ibn Nizam* al-Din*, p. 121 [reversed in the text with the preceding entry]; (14) Ibrahim* Kalhura* Sindhi*, p. 135; (15) Jalal* Qadiri*, p. 135; (16) Jalal* Mattu*, p. 138; (17) Lashkar Muhammad* `Arif* [omitted]; (18) Sayyid Muhammad* Qadiri*, p. 138; (19) Sayyid Ibrahim* B'hakari* [omitted]; (20) Abu* Jiv* ibn

Khizr * Tamimi*, p. 141; (21) `Abd al-Rahim* Kabir* [omitted]; (22) Sayyid Bahlul* [omitted]; (23) Shah* Panah* [omitted]; (24) Ibrahim* Siyan* [omitted]; (25) `Isa* [Jund Allah*] [omitted]; (26) Muhammad* Afzal* [omitted]. Since eight biographies are omitted, only eighteen are given in the text.

67. Ibid., pp. 19-20.

68. Banarsi Prasad Saksena, *History of Shahjahan* of Dihli** (Allahabad: Central Book Depot, 1958), pp. 19-55.

69. Firishta, II, 279, repeated in a shortened form, ibid., II, 401; *Fath.* al-awliya'**, pp. 55, 57-58.

70. The version of this speech in *Fath.* al-awliya'** is shorter, and eliminates the references to Zaynabad altogether: "We are in this region [Burhanpur], of happy name, for it was the stopping-place of the Sultan [i.e., Burhan* al-Din* Gharib*]. This is enough, that a city will flourish in his name, for the sign of Islam will become current in this piece of land."

71. Muhammad* Ghawsi* relates this story of Burhan* al-Din* himself, while he describes the unnamed donor (presumably Malik Raja*, in another anachronism) as the prefect (*shihna**) of the ancient town of Vaysan* (or Visanah*, the traditional name for the site that became Burhanpur); cf. Ghawsi*, *Azkar-i* abrar**, p. 90.

72. Rawnaq `Ali*, pp. 199-202.

73. Cf. Firishta (Newal Kishore ed.), II, 277, describing the genealogical tree at one time preserved in the Faruqi* library, tracing the generations in Malik Raja's descent from `Umar; ibid., II, 280, where the soldiers of Berar held it an honor to die as martyrs fighting for the heir of `Umar.

74. Anonymous, *Fath* al-awliya'**, pp. 57-58; Ghawsi*, p. 90. Ghawsi* notes that he had visited Rawza* (Khuldabad) toward the end of the Faruqi* period in 1001/1592-93 for the *`urs* of Burhan* al-Din* Gharib*, which was attended by people "of all countries" (ibid.).

75. See documents A1 and A2 in Appendix C.

76. Firishta (Nawal Kishor* ed.), II, 277.

77. Firishta ([Nawal Kishor* ed.], II, 278, 280) says that he founded Burhanpur at the beginning of his reign, and that the Bahmani* armies sacked it in 841/1437; *Fath* al-awliya'**, p. 55, says the cities were founded in 835/1431-32; cf. Azad*, pp. 107-8. The early Faruqi* kings were all buried in their first capital at Thalner, and the first to be buried in Burhanpur was Nasir* Khan's* great grandson, `Adil* Khan* Faruqi*, in 866/1461-62; cf. Hajji* Dabir* Ulughkhani*, I, 52-54.

78. Mahdi* Husayn*, p. 124.

79. Firishta (trans. Briggs), II, 383 ff., where Zayn al-Din* is always misspelled "Ein-ood-Deen"; Azad*, p. 103; Siddiqi, *The Bahmani Sufis**, pp. 129-31.

80. *Hidayat* al-qulub**, p. 373.

81. Ibid., pp. 374-75. I was unable to compare this passage with the Hyderabad copy (MS 353 Tasawwuf * Farsi*, Andhra Pradesh Oriental Manuscript Research Library [Asafiyya*], Hyderabad), where this episode occurs on p. 348.

82. Ghulam* `Ali* Azad*, *Rawzat* al-awliya'*, p. 33. This story is related from the *Tarikh-i* Khurshid* Jahi*.

83. L. F. Rushbrook Williams, *A Handbook for Travellers in India, Pakistan, Nepal, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka (Ceylon)* (22nd ed., New York: Barnes & Noble Books, Harper and Row Publishers, 1975), pp. 145-46.

84. Burhan* ibn Hasan*, *Tuzak-i-Walajahi*, trans. S. Muhammad* Husayn* Nainar, Part I (Madras: University of Madras, 1934), pp. 3-5.

85. See my "An Indo-Persian Guide to Sufi Shrine Pilgrimage," n. 22.

86. Banarsi Prasad Saksena, *History of Shahjahan* of Dihli** (Allahabad: Central Book Depot, 1958), pp. 19-55.

87. Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib* (Bombay: Orient Longman Ltd., 1973 [1912]) I-II, 22-23, 99-100.

88. `Abd al-Hamid* Lahawri*, *Padshah* nama**, ed. Kabir* al-Din* Ahmad* and `Abd al-Rahim*, Bibliotheca Indica (Calcutta, 1872), II, 180.

89. Yusuf* Husain Khan*, *Selected Documents of Shah* Jahan's Reign* (Hyderabad: Daftar-i Mulk wa Diwani*, 1950), no. 11; Sarkar, *Aurangzib* I-II, 95.

90. Muhammad* Shafi`* "*Safinat* al-awliya'* ke* ek* na-yab* nuskha ka* hal*," *Maqalat* muntakhaba-i majalla-i danishkada-i* khavar-shinasi**, ed. Wazir* al-Hasan* `Abidi* (Lahore: Danishgah-i* Panjab*, 1387 h./1346 sh./1968), p. 131.

91. Sarkar, *Aurangzib,* I-II, 105-10.

92. Bradley, "Statistics of the Circar of Dowlutabad," pp. 487, 514.

93. Rawnaq `Ali*, *Rawzat* al-aqtab* al-ma`ruf* bi-mazhar-i* Asafiyya** (Lucknow: Dilgudaz* Press, 1931), pp. 23-39. The lesser *dargah's** revenues were probably still supplied (as in B1) from Sultanpur and six other villages, as mentioned by Bradley, "Statistics of the Circar of Dowlutabad," p. 526. For reasons that are not clear, the population of Khuldabad declined slightly from 3,085 in 1849 (Bradley, p. 525) to 2,843 in 1318/1900-1 (Rawnaq `Ali*, p. 22), though the number of houses increased from 416 to 645.

94. *Aurangabad District, Maharashtra State Gazetteers,* p. 665; Fariduddin Saleem, oral communication, Khuldabad, September 1981.

95. S. Khalid Rashid*, *Wakf Administration in India: A Socio-Legal Study* (New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House Pvt. Ltd., 1978).

96. James Dickie, "Allah and Eternity: Mosques, Madrasas and Tombs," in *Architecture of the Islamic World: Its History and Social Meaning,* ed. George Michell (London: Thames and Hudson, 1978), pp. 43-44.

97. Nizam *, *Tarikh*, V, 173, 175-76, notes that this book is no longer extant.

98. P. Setu Madhava Rao, *Eighteenth Century Deccan* (Bombay: Popular Prakashan, 1963), pp. 61-62, 66-67).

99. Rawnaq `Ali*, p. 183, n.

100. For these notables, see Shahnawaz* Khan*, *The Maathir-ul-Umara**, I, 310 ('Iwaz* Khan* and Jamal* al-Din* Khan*); II, 647 (Mutawassil* Khan*); II, 648-50 (Muzaffar* Jang).

101. Rawnaq `Ali*, p. 51.

102. Archeological Department of His Highness the Nizam's Dominions, *Annual Report 1323-24 Fasli (1914-15)* (Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press, 1916), p. 6; *Annual Report 1345 Fasli (1935-36)* (Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press, 1938), p. 12.

103. Eaton, *Sufis of Bijapur,* pp. 127-29.

104. Bradley, "Statistics," p. 525.

105. Wahida* Nasim*, pp. 87-90.

106. Awrangzib's* testament of twelve articles, Persian text published in Municipal Gazette, Lahore, 1908, quoted by `Abd al-Majid* in Azad*, p. 148.

107. Sabzawari*, fol. 14b.

108. Bilgrami and Willmott, II, 719.

109. Rawnaq `Ali*, pp. 231-32.

110. Interview, Mr. Hussaini, Lahore, 1986.

111. Nisar* Ahmad*, son of Hajj* Burhan* Bakhsh, Khadim* of Awrangzib's* tomb, in an interview at Khuldabad, July 1986.

112. H. G. Farmer, "Tabl* Khana*," *Encyclopedia of Islam,* 1st ed., *Supplement,* pp. 217-22; Affan Seljuq, "Some Notes on the Origin and Development of Naubat," *Journal of the Malay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 49 (1976), pp. 141ff.

113. Samples of this music may be heard on *Music from the Shrines of Ajmer and Mundra,* recorded by John Levy, Lyrichord Discs, LLST 7236, recorded in 1962.

114. *Fairs and Festivals of Maharashtra,* p. 175.

115. For the cosmic and royal symbolism of elephants in India, see Heinrich Zimmer, *Myths and Symbols in Indian Art and Civilization,* ed. Joseph Campbell, Bollingen Series VI (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1946; reprint ed., 1974), pp. 102-9.

116. Nizam* al-Din* Ahmad* ibn Muhammad* Salih* (17th cent.), *Karamat* al-awliya'**, MS 6273 Sherani, University of the Punjab, Lahore, fol. 271a, quoting an anonymous contemporary Sufi. Anachronistically, Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* is made to

deliver this prophecy to one of the rulers of this dynasty, which only began several decades after his death.

117. Mu`in * al-Din* Nadwi*, *Burhanpur**, *gahwara-i* `ilm, dar* al-surur**, *markaz-i ruhaniyyat** (Burhanpur: Jami`a* Ashrafiyya, 1978), pp. 66-71 (the stone is referred to here in Hindi *as hat'hiya* chatan**).

118. *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency,* vol. XII, *Khandesh* (Bombay: Government Central Press, 1881), p. 590, citing Ogilby's *Atlas* (1670), V, 237, and Thevenot, *Voyages* (1666), V, 214 (where the carving of the elephant, from a reddish stone, is attributed to Shahjahan*, in commemoration of a favorite fighting elephant). It was reported to be so lifelike as to deceive elephants coming to the river to drink; cf. Joannes *De Laet, The Empire of the Great Mogol,* trans. J. S. Hoyland, annotated by S. N. Banerjee (1928; reprint ed., New Delhi: Oriental Books Reprint Corporation, 1974), p. 30. By the nineteenth century the stone elephant was reported to have disappeared; cf. Thomas Bacon, *The Oriental Annual* (London: Charles Tilt, 1840), p. 130. But Nadwi*, *Burhanpur**, p. 69, says that the elephant stone now lies some distance from the edge of the river, due to changes in its course over the years.

119. *Fath* al-awliya'**, pp. 37-50. This is the source of all the accounts in Urdu hagiographies: Muhammad `Abd al-Jabbar* Mulkapuri* (which is the only source to give the death date), *Mahbub* al-watan**, *tazkira-i awliya`-i* Dakan* (Hyderabad: Matba`-i* Rahmani*, n.d.), I, 530-538, citing an otherwise unknown work, *Tarikh-i* mashahir-i* Burhanpur**; Rawnaq `Ali*, *Rawzat* al-aqtab* al-ma`ruf* bi-mazhar-i* Asafiyya** (Lucknow: Dilgudaz* Press, 1931), pp. 257-65; Muhammad* `Ali* Khan* Mujaddidi* Naqshbandi* al-Qadiri*, *Tazkira-i awliya`-i* Khuldabad* sharif** (Hyderabad: Commercial Book Depot, n.d.), pp. 130-40; Abu* Muhammad* Muslih*, *Awliya'-i* Dakan awr Qur'an** (Hyderabad: `Alamgir* Tahrik-i* Qur'an*, n.d. [1352/1934]), pp. 22-24.

120. This is evidently Rukn al-Din* Mawdud* Kan-i* Shakkar-i Nahrawalah* (b. 705/1305-6, d. 811/1409), who was the son of `Alam al-Din* Muhammad*, and began to study Sufism at the age of 25; he later exchanged views with Gisu* Daraz*. Cf. Ghawsi*, *Gulzar-i* abrar**, Urdu trans., pp. 138-39.

121. *Fath* al-awliya'**, pp. 50-65. The only other contemporary account (Ghawsi*, *Gulzar-i* abrar**, Urdu trans., pp. 196-97) is very brief despite the author's having visited Shah* Nu`man's* popular annual *`urs* festival on two different occasions. Ghawsi* writes that Shah* Nu`man's* master was Sayyid Nizam* al-Din*, whose tomb in Munki Patan is very near a large Hindu temple called Murtipur* near the Ban* Ganga* River.

122. The text distinctly says that the initiatic regalia came "from his great-grandfather Khwaja* Muhammad* Zahid* [sc. Tahir*?] to Khwaja* Rukn al-Din*" (*Fath* al-awliya'**, pp. 52-53). Since Sayyid 'Ala*' al-Din* Ziya'* had died in 801/1398-99, it is not clear when Shah* Nu`man* might have met him or obtained his authorization, or what he did for the next twenty-one years. Possibly this Rukn al-Din* is the same as the one in Gujarat by whom 'Ala*' al-Din* Ziya'* was initiated through correspondence, and who died in 811/1409.

123. Historians such as Firishta always refer to Asa* Ahir* as the builder of the fortress, but they fail to mention Shah* Nu`man* in this regard.

124. Firishta, II, 279, repeated in a shortened form, ibid., II, 401. Virtually all dynastic chronicles repeat this story; e.g., Muhammad * Hadi* Kamwar Khan*, *Haft gulshan-i Muhammad* Shahi** (ca. 1132/1719-20), MS Or 1795, British Library, fol. 248b.

125. On Mas`ud* Bakk, see my "From Hagiography to Martyrology," pp. 317ff. Mas`ud* Bakk was also, according to Mohammad Shafi*, an ardent admirer of Burhan* al-Din* Gharib*, whom he praised in his poem *Yusuf* u Zulaykha**; of. "Burhan* al-Din* Gharib*," EI^2, I, 1328-29. Evidently Shaft* had access to this poem, otherwise thought lost, but his manuscript library in Lahore is now inaccessible due to legal problems.

126. In an otherwise almost identical account, Ghawsi* relates that Shah* Bajan's* father died when he was four, and then at age fourteen he became a disciple of Rahmat* Allah*; Shah* Bajan* then took the road for Arabia alone and at that point had the dream of the Prophet telling him to go to Burhanpur (*Gulzar-i* abrar**, p. 213).

127. *Fath* al-awliya'**, pp. 65-69. The same account is given by Mulkapuri*, *Tazkira-i awliya'-i* Dakan,* I, 188-93, who cites the otherwise unknown *Tuhfa-i* jalali** as his source; he also relates from *Mishkat* al-nubuwwa* two stories about Shah* Bajan's* love of music.

128. Nadwi*, *Burhanpur**, pp. 74-76, quoting the Persian text of *Khizanat-i* rahmat* allah**.

129. Azad* Bilgrami*, *Rawzat* al-awliya'**, p. 130.

130. Muhammad* Nur* al-Din* wuld Muhammad* `Umar, *Ta`aruf* chand awliya'-i* ikram-i* Khuldabad* sharif** (Aurangabad: Azad* Printers, n.d.), pp. 2-3.

131. Sabzawari*, *Sawanih**, fol. 23b.

132. Azad* Bilgrami*, *Rawzat* al-awliya'**, p. 130.

133. Muhammad* `Abd al-Majid*, trans., *Rawzat* al-awliya'**, p. 130, n., citing the nineteenth-century universal history *`Ishq-i rabbani**.

134. It seems that 20 Safar* appears to be a mistake for 29 Safar*, the generally accepted date for the death of 'Ali* Riza*' in 203/818; of. *Mir'at* al-asrar**, I, 211.

135. Wahida* Nasim*, pp. 35-38.

136. Oral report, Yahya Maghrebi, Panchakki Khanqah, Aurangabad, September 1981. In October 1987, I was told the same story in Khuldabad, with the variation that the raja was a Jain.

137. Kerrin Graefin V. Schwerin, "Saint Worship in Indian Islam." The participation of both Muslims and non-Muslims in such festivals suggests that widely differing interpretations of this ceremony coexist at the same time.

138. Hammad* al-Din* Kashani*, *Ahsan* al-aqwal**, pp. 71-72 (also cited by Sabzawari*, *Sawanih**, fol. 7b); Rukn al-Din* Kashani*, *Nafa'is* al-anfas**, p. 85.

139. Sabzawari*, fol. 7a; Rawnaq `Ali*, p. 54, n. 2.

140. *Census of India 1961,* vol. X, *Maharashtra,* Part VII-B, *Fairs and Festivals in Maharashtra* (Delhi: Manager of Publications, Government Central Press, 1969), pp. 175-76; *Awrangabad District, Maharashtra State Gazetteers,* p. 1031.

141. Sabzawari *, *Sawanih**, fols. 6b-11a. An anonymous universal history, *`Ishq-i rabbani** (apparently written in the nineteenth century), records that Muntajib al-Din* was born in 675/1276-77, and Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* in 654/1256-57, making the latter 21 years older (MS in collection of M. `Abd al-Haiy, Khuldabad), p. 91; cited also in Azad*, *Rawza**, p. 49, n., and Rawnaq `Ali*, p. 46).

142. *Fath* al-awliya'**, pp. 21-23.

143. On this mosque, see Azad*, *Rawza**, p. 86. The number of seven hundred disciples accompanying a peregrinating saint is commonly found in Indian Sufi sources. One tradition portrays Nizam* al-Din* Awliya'* as having initiated seven hundred perfected disciples (Mandavi*, *Gulzar-i* abrar**, pp. 84-85). Sayyid `Ali* Hamadani* (d. 786/1385), the famous Sufi of Kashmir, is said to have gone there from Iran accompanied by seven hundred sayyids; cf. Muhammad* Riyaz*, *Ahwal* u asar* u ash`ar-i* Mir* Sayyid `Ali* Hamadani**, p. 48. The number seven hundred is probably to be taken metaphorically, as suggested by K. A. Nizami, *Tarikh-i* mashayikh-i* Chisht,* I, 230. Rawnaq `Ali* lists thirteen of Muntajib al-Din's* companions (pp. 46-47) and seventy-five disciples of Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* (pp. 156-60); Wahida* Nasim* lists one hundred twenty-three disciples of Burhan* al-Din* Gharib* (p. 164-75).

144. Some suggest that Muhammad* ibn Tughluq sent the Delhi Sufis to Daulatabad at the command of Nizam* al-Din* Awliya'* (Wahida* Nasim*, p. 25).

145. Cf. Azad*, *Rawzat* al-awliya'**, p. 16.

146. Muhammad* `Ali* Khan*, *Tazkira,* pp. 25-27.

147. Azad*, *Rawzat* al-awliya'**, p. 86; Muhammad* `Ali* Khan*, *Tazkira,* p. 110 (their annual festival is held on 10 Sha`ban*).

148. Rawnaq `Ali*, p. 224; Azad*, *Rawzat* al-awliya'**, pp. 126-27.

149. Rawnaq `Ali*, p. 26.

150. Azad*, *Rawzat* al-awliya'**, pp. 54-55, n.; Wahida* Nasim*, pp. 69-71.

151. Rawnaq `Ali*, p. 51.

152. Muhammad* `Ali* Khan*, *Tazkira,* p. 27.

153. Sabzawari*, *Sawanih**, fols. 9a-b.

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1. Primary Sources on Sufism and Islam
    A. Discourses (*malfuzat* *)
    B. Biographies (*tazkirat**)
    C. Speculative and Mystical Treatises
    D. Other Islamic Religious Sciences
2. Dynastic Chronicles and Court Poetry
3. Revenue Documents
4. Epigraphy and Numismatics
5. Travel Literature and Gazetteers
6. Modern Secondary Studies
7. Reference Works

Abbreviations

BSOAS	*Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*
EI[1]	*The Encyclopaedia of Islam.* Edited by T. Houtsma et al. 4 vols. plus Supplement. 1st ed., Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1913-38.
EI[2]	*The Encyclopaedia of Islam.* Edited by H. A. R. Gibbet al. 2nd ed., Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1960-.
EIAPS	*Epigraphia Indica, Arabic and Persian Supplement*
IC	*Islamic Culture*
JIH	*Journal of Indian History*
JPHS	*Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society*
MIM	*Medieval India: A Miscellany*
PAPHC	*The Proceedings of the All Pakistan History Conference, First Session, Karachi, 1951.* Karachi: Pakistan Historical Society, 1952.

PSMI	*Proceedings of the Seminar on Medieval Inscriptions (6-8th Feb. 1970).* Aligarh: Aligarh Muslim University, 1974.
SI	*Studia Islamica*

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INDEX OF TERMS AND SUBJECTS

Abbreviations:

Ar.:	Arabic
H.:	Hindi
Per.:	Persian
Skt:	Sanskrit
Tur.:	Turkish

A

abdal* (Ar., pl. of **badal:** "substitutes," members of the spiritual hierarchy), 316 n. 127

`abid* (Ar.: religious devotee), 5

adab (Ar.: culture, manners), 39, 165

ahwal* (Ar., pl. of **hal***: mystical states), 76

a'imma (Ar., pl. of **imam***, religious leader: stipend for religious leaders), 49

`aja'ib*** (Ar., pl. of **`ajib*: wonders, marvels), 22

amir* (Ar.: military commander), 31

amiran-i* sada* (Per.: commanders of one hundred), 111.

See also centurions

`arif* (Ar.: knower, gnostic), 5, 8

`ashiq* (Ar.: lover), 5

avatar* (Skt: descent of God in human form), 52

awrad* (Ar., pl. of **wird:** chanted prayers), 79, 130

awtad* (Ar., pl. of **watad:** "supports," members of the spiritual hierarchy), 316 n. 127

B

baba* (Tur.: religious leader of nomadic Turks), 100

batin* (Ar.: internal, esoteric), 9

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farman* (Per.: "command," royal administrative or financial document), 216, 217, 219, 220, 221, Appendix C

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jam` raqmi* (Per.: estimated total value of land), 216

jazb (Per.; Ar. **jadhb:** divine, attraction), 151

jihad* (Ar.: struggle, holy war), 159

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